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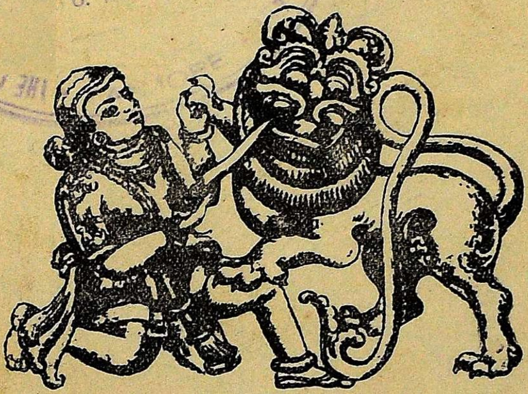

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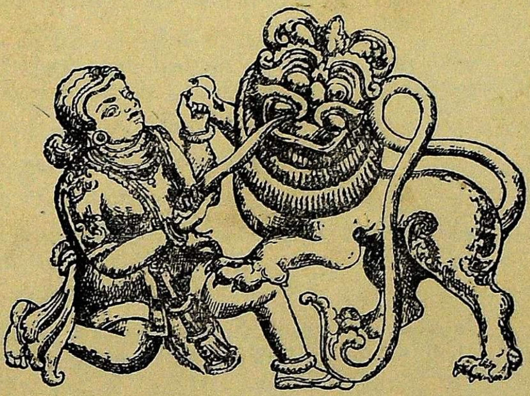

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KṚṢṆA DĒVA RĀYA'S CONQUEST OF RAICHŪR

BY G. S. DIKSHIT, B.A. (HONS.)

SEWELL in his *Forgotten Empire* has taken Nuniz's account of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya's conquest of Rachol to refer to his conquest of Raichūr.[1] Rev. H. Heras has attempted to prove Nuniz's account to refer to the battle of Rachol near Goa.[2] The following considerations support Sewell's view.

The Name

In the Telugu works for example, in *Rāyavācakamu*[3] which purports to be a contemporary chronicle, and in *Kṛṣṇarāya-vijayamu*[4] Raichūr is referred to as Rāchūru. The Portuguese corruption of Rāchūru seems to be Rachol. Apart from this similarity in names, by the context, one can easily make out that by Rachol, Nuniz means Raichūr. We are told by Nuniz,

---

[1] *Forgotten Empire*. p. 137 ff.

[2] *JRAS*. 1931, p. 142 ff.

[3] *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 112,

[4] *Ibid*. p. 131,

that when Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya came to the throne, he came across a testament of Sāluva Narasimha, which stated that his successors should capture three fortresses, "one of them was called Racholl and another Medegulla".[5] Here because Racholl is associated with Medegulla or Mudgal, it can only mean Raichūr. Students of Vijayanagara history are very well aware of the fact that these two forts, Raichūr and Mudgal, were the bone of contention between the rulers of the Deccan and of Vijayanagara.

The Geographical Position

Nuniz gives the topography of Rachol thus: "The city of Rachol lies between two great rivers, and in the midst of a great plain where there are no trees except very small ones, and there are great boulders there; from each river to the city is three leagues. One of these rivers is the northern boundary, and beyond it the country belongs to the Ydallcão, and the other is the boundary to the south which is the boundary of Narsymga."[6] This description holds good of Raichūr in the Deccan and not of Rachol near Goa. For, though Rachol is situated between two rivers, they are not great rivers; and even if we assume that Nuniz referred to these rivers as being great, Rachol is not situated at a distance of three leagues from each river, as Raichūr very nearly is from the rivers, Kṛṣṇa and Tungabhadrā. The rivers near Rachol in the Portuguese territory could not have been described by Nuniz as forming the boundaries between the Vijayanagara and Bijapur kingdoms. Whereas the rivers Kṛṣṇa and Tungabhadrā, between which Raichūr is situated, formed the boundaries of the kingdoms of the Deccan and Vijayanagara for centuries. Further, Nuniz says, that Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya halted at a place called Mollambamdym, which was at a distance of a league from Rachol, on his way to Rachol.[7] If Nuniz's Rachol is to be identified with Rachol near Goa, then there

---

[5] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 331.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 329.

must be a town called Mollambamdym at a distance of a league from it. In fact no such town exists in the Portuguese territory. Whereas a few miles to the south of Raichūr there is a town called Malliabad. Sewell has correctly identified Nuniz's Mollambamdym with this Malliabad.[8]

Rev. H. Heras says, "The narrative of Paes records that the mountains round Vijayanagara reach the kingdom of the Daquem (Deccan), the territories belonging to the Ydallcão (Adil Khan Sultan of Bijapur) and the city of Rachol, that formerly belonged to the king of Narsymga. Paes here mentions three countries as the limit which the Vijayanagara mountains reach. There three countries run from east to west—the kingdom of the Deccan (*viz.* Golconda), the kingdom of Ydallcão (Bijapur) and the city of Rachol....The city of Rachol is placed by Paes west of the kingdom of Bijapur in the present Goa territory." It is not correct to say that when Paes mentions first Deccan, then Bijapur and then Rachol, he mentions them in order from east to west and by Deccan Paes does not mean Golconda. He means by Deccan the Bahmani Kingdom which was existing even then, though nominally. He also knew that the various Shahi kingdoms owed allegiance to the Bahmani Kingdom. For he says,[9] "This Kingdom (Vijayanagara)....marches to the north with the kingdom of the Dakhan, belonging to which are the lands which the Ydallcão[10] has and Ozemelluco".[11] Hence in the following sentence "The serras (mountains) reach as far as the Kingdom of Daquem (Deccan) and border upon the territories belonging to the Ydallcão and upon a city called Rachol that formerly belonged to the king of Narsymga,"[12] what Paes means is that the Vijayanagara mountains reach the Deccan or the Bahmani Kingdom and in that Kingdom they border on the territories of Adil Shāh and a city called Rachol in the

---

8 *Forgotten Empire*, p. 329.

9 *Ibid.* p. 239.

10 Adil Shah of Bijapur.

11 Nizam-ul-Mulkh of Ahmadnagar.

12 *Forgotten Empire*, p. 243.

neighbourhood of the Adilshāhi territories. Further referring to the same mountain ranges, he says, "these ranges are in a way the cause (of the two kingdoms) never uniting and always being at war".[13] The Raichūr doab was the cause of the wars at first between the Bahmani and Vijayanagara Kingdoms, and later on between the Bijapur and Vijayanagara Kingdoms.

The Presence of the Portuguese Captain

In the conquest of Raichūr or Rachol, Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya was helped by a Portuguese captain by name Christovão de Figueiredo. Basing his account on Faria y Sousa, Rev. Heras says that Christovão de Figueiredo, who was to go to Vijayanagara to sell horses to Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya, probably heard that the king was conducting the siege of Rachol near Goa, and quite naturally went and met him there. He further argues that if Rachol is really Raichūr, Christovão de Figueiredo would not have gone to Raichūr first, for Raichūr is farther from Goa than Vijayanagara itself. But there is a great difficulty in accepting what Faria y Sousa has written. For he wrote a century later than the events he describes; while Nuniz, who is almost a contemporary writer says definitely that Christovão de Figueiredo came to meet Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya at Raichūr or Rachol from Vijayanagara. "During this return of the king (Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya to Raichūr), there came to meet him Christovão de Figueiredo who was at that time in the city of Bisnaga with horses...."[14]

The Date

The date of the conquest of Raichūr as given by Ferishta is 1521 and the date of the conquest of Rachol as given by Nuniz is 1522. Therefore Rev. Heras concludes that they must be regarded as two different actions. But the opinion of Sewell is different. He Says, "Taking the two narratives (of Ferishta and Nuniz) as a whole, there are too

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[13] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 243.
[14] *Ibid*. p. 343.

many points of coincidence to leave any doubt in the mind that each chronicler is writing of the same event ".[15] The same authority has definitely fixed the date of the battle of Raichūr to be 1520 A.D.[16]

Consequences of the Capture of Rachol or Raichūr

All the Portuguese writers say that after the conquest of Rachol or Raichūr by Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya, Ruy de Mello, taking advantage of the distress caused to the Sultan of Bijapur by the surrender of Rachol or Raichūr siezed the mainlands of Goa. Rev. Heras says, " certainly the capture of Raichūr would not have enfeebled the power of the Adil Shāhi Sultan in the neighbourhood of Goa ; but the conquest of the fort of Rachol, in the strategic corner of the Peninsula of Salsette, deprived the Sultan of his main stronghold beyond the river Zuarim." We must remember that the rise and fall of the Portuguese in India depended on the rise and fall of the Vijayanagara Empire. Just as the battle of Rākṣasa Tangaḍi or Talikōta was one of the main causes for the downfall of the Portuguese in India, in the same way the battle of Raichūr of 1520 A.D. increased the strength of the Portuguese power in India. The defeat of the Adil Shāh at Raichūr was so thorough that his power became weak all along his frontier. Hence it was easy for the Portuguese to capture the mainlands of Goa. Moreover they did this with the connivance of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya.[17]

Why has Nuniz described the conquest of Rachol at such great length, while allotting comparatively little space to Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya's Orissa campaigns ? Why have the Indian accounts specially in Telugu literature and Vijayanagara inscriptions, which grow eloquent over the Orissa campaigns of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya, ignored his conquest of Rachol ? Is there any satisfactory explanation for this difference in appreciation between the Indian sources and the Portuguese chronicles ?

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15 *Forgotten Empire*, p. 153.
16 *Ibid.* p. 140.
17 *Ibid.* pp. 142–43.

Rev. Heras, who raises these questions answers them thus, "If Rachol is identified with Raichūr, no explanation is possible, but if the Rachol of Nuniz is identified with the fort of Rachol in Salsette, the reason is quite evident. His account of the conquest of Rachol is so full of detail on account of the special interest the Portuguese had in that fort—the stronghold of the recently acquired peninsula of Salsette. Though the conquest was not of great importance to the empire (Vijayanagara), it was very important for the development of the Portuguese possessions in India."

It is true that the Indian accounts do not pay the same attention to the Raichūr campaign as they do to the Orissa campaigns of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya. But they have not altogether neglected the former. Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya himself, as has been recently pointed out by Mr. K. Iswara Dutt,[18] has described the fall of Nairamanam (a place now known as Niramanuru near Raichūr) in his work, *Āmuktamālyada.*[19] Further an inscription[20] speaks of a person who pleased Kṛṣṇa Dāva Rāya by his war-like deeds at Trachchūr or Raichūr.

Nuniz's interest in the Rachol or Raichūr campaign may have been due to the fact that some Portuguese took part in it. Sewell guesses that Nuniz himself may have been present at the siege, for his story bears all the marks of a personal narrative.[21] It is also true that this campaign was very intimately connected with the fortunes of the Portuguese. But the extraordinary length of the narrative is not due to the fact that the campaign took place in, what later on became Portuguese territory, *viz.* Rachol near Goa.

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[18] *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. IX, Part 4, p. 62.

[19] Colophon of Canto VI.

[20] Para 59 of *Epigraphical Report for Madras*, 1906–07.

[21] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 136 *n*.

LOVE, ROMANCE AND MARRIAGE IN DRAVIDIAN INDIA

BY S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL researches of modern times have resulted in important discoveries pertaining to the life led by the Dravidians of early times. But literature is the very mirror of a nation's soul; and the only literary evidence of this civilization is what has been yielded by the Tamil works of the so-called *Sangam Age* in South Indian history. These are substantially reminiscent of a culture that had a long period of antiquity behind it.

I. Regional Romance

The social life of the people of South India, like the other aspects of their culture, is met with primarily in five different grades, one for each of the natural regions into which the country was divided. The early Tamils were not slow to recognize that life in social groups was inseparably bound up with the geographical conditions in the regions of their occupation. The author of early Tamil grammar has even expressed grammatical rules and maxims in terms of the relations of the two sexes, finding vent in love and romance.

The best season for love-making was the spring, when the gentle south breeze wafted. The crooked courses that love ran through differed from region to region, to each one of which was attributed a particular stage in the processes of courting and marriage. The *Kurinji* region stood for love at first sight, and for the causes that engendered the love. "Like water falling on a fertile land the loving hearts unite with each other." The lover paid secret visits to his fiance (*pedumpai*) at dusk and returned at midnight. *Mullai*, *Ney'al* and *Palai* saw the separation of lovers over different durations and their final union afterwards. In the *Mullai* country it was taken that there was only a short interval of separation, perhaps extending over a few days, as for example, when the

man went to tend his cattle or was out on a short hunting expedition. The girl had to wait patiently for the return of her love. *Neytal* meant a longer period, similar to what was caused when fishers went out to sea on a fishing voyage. The waiting here was so long as even to make the maiden "wail and feel that her beauty was fading, her shoulders less handsome and her feelings embittered." "She passed sleepless nights, and her face became pale." The parting of the lovers for a considerably long period was the theme of the poetry pertaining to the *Palai* country. The girl pines here for the return of her lad: the love-sickness being occasioned by his "departure to a distant desert where the deer mistakes a mirage for water." These stages in love-making were supposed to come under a comprehensive name *kalavu* (secret courting). In fact, this was the only indigenous prelude to marriage among the early Tamils; and *karpu* was a form superimposed on the old system by outside influences in South India.

Obviously, the first four stages were romantic, characterised by clandestine courting and even fleet marriages. In the *Marutam* stage there was settled family life, attended with the usual frolics and frivolities, family bickerings and quarrels, which now and then seemed to roughen the smooth course of the life lived by the couple.

II. Courting and Mating

In the period of courtship, the young lover strove to please the object of his love by rendering her voluntary services and sometimes even helping her out of a scrape. The plot of the *Kurinji-Pattu* begins with an episode where an anxious lover seeks the hand of the girl he had set his heart on. He is seen to rescue her from the onslaught of an elephant and thus become worthy of her attention. The little deeds of chivalry done by the young man to attract the attention of his "flame" and her parents are beautifully described in some odes of the *Kali-Tokai*. "He looks on wistfully and fondly, while she is bathing; he visits the places she visits—her house, the bathing ghat, the well, etc.; offers her

garlands made of fragrant flowers; even sets right her jewel that had fallen off its proper position; makes toys and playthings for her merriment; takes her to the sands of the seashore on a holiday; and advances to apply the sandal paste to her bosom." "The gallant youth finds that his girl is about to get drowned in a stream, swims across the current and rescues her. For this act of his he is sure of her heart." The girl is seen sometimes to try the fidelity of her boy; "she pretends to slip off the swing waiting to be saved by the young man who is after her." "The lover sick of his girl visits her house on a small pretext say, for a cup of water to quench his thirst, as he is wearied with his walks. The girl offers him water; but he seizes her by the arm and embraces her, casting such a glance as would kill her."

In these processes of courting are met with girls through whom the lovers negotiate their match. The intention of both finds expression through them, and their union is finally effected through their intervention. They describe to their mistresses the noble qualities of head, hand and heart of the youths that had set their hearts on and arrange for their meeting, either in the village grove or by the banks of a running brook.

The youth mad with lust and dispirited by disappointment made with the sharp-edged stem of a palmyra leaf a horse run on wheels, and rode it holding the reins, adorned with small jingling bells. He wore garlands of the *erukku* and *avirai* flowers (*Calotropis gigantia* and *Cassia auriculata*) and ran along followed by bands of boys and girls in the street, who ridiculed him. Thus hair-brained, he fasted day and night, either to be accepted by the girl who might have been overcome meantime by a feeling of remorse, or reduce himself to death by starvation. This peculiar custom was known as *madal-erutal.*

III. Irregular Relationships

Besides the four forms of love-making and romance mentioned in connection with the natural regions, there were other clandestine and ill-matched associations of the two sexes. Instances are met with where the parents lament

miserably the long periods spent by their daughters in the company of youths who had eloped with them. Public opinion was so strong and could not be defied. A mother is seen to say, "she left us to a distant land with her lover, being enamoured of his sweet but false words." She feels her shame so bitterly as to exclaim, "may Death be Himself buried in a large urn; He did not take away my life ere I was constrained to go in search of my daughter." The parents' life, it was recognized, is not always a happy one. A verse in the *Kali-Tokai* teaches a lesson that it is not a blessing to have daughters, for they are kept in their custody only to be of utility and service to others, and a perennial source of anxiety to them. A wise ascetic gives the following words of consolation to the mother of a girl who had eloped with her lover: "Your dàughter is to you what the sandal tree is to the hill; sandal paste gives pleasure to those that smear it on their bodies; though born and grown on the hill, it is of no use to it. Your daughter is to you what the pearls are to the sea; pearls add beauty to those that wear them; though produced in water, it is of no use to it. Your daughter is to you what the musical tunes and tones are to the lute; the music of the instrument gives delight to the audience; though produced from the lute, it is of no good to itself."

Some forms of these irregular relationships may be seen in *Kaikkilai*, where the love is partial, lop-sided and incomplete. Instances of these are found in a youth making overtures to an immature girl who cannot reciprocate; the man and woman have both an intense and anxious feeling of love, but the union of the two has to be postponed for some extraneous cause, say, the unwillingness of the parents or differences over the actual form it should take or when the hand of the girl desired could be won only by the lover's courage and strength being put to test in archery or in capturing a wild bull let loose by the parents of the girl.

On the other hand, the variety known as *Peruntinai* comprised unions of men and women of unequal age or intensity of love; when a youth sought a woman older than himself,

or seized a girl whom he had met by chance, or the man's feeling of love was violent and rude, but had absolutely no chance of being responded to. It was in the last case, when the girl was persistent and gave the basket that the youth became desperate, trespassed the usual bonds of decency and threatened the girl and her parents with his suicide.

IV. Marriage Ceremonies

The marriageable ages of boys and girls seem to have been fixed ordinarily at sixteen and twelve respectively. The observation made by Megasthenes that women of the Pāndya region bore children when they were six years of age cannot be relied upon even as evidence for the general prevalence of early marriages in Tamil India, especially in view of the fact that among the Tamils the more common form of marriage was the *Gandharva* variety, to use a Sanskrit term.

When after a tedious course of negotiations the marriage of the two contracting parties was publicly announced, a very elaborate ceremonial was gone through, and the rituals described in the Tamil texts as incidental to a formal marriage disclose the fact that social life in South India of the *Sangam* period had become saturated with Āryan forms in this important matter. *Tolkappiyam*, a work on Tamil grammar primarily, mentions under Tamil names the eight varieties of marriage met with in the Brahmanical law-codes as *Ara-nilai* (Brahma), *Porul-kol* (Arśa), *Taiva* (Daiva), *Oppu* (Prajāpatya), *Yaler-kuttam* (Gandharva), *Arum-porul-vinai-nilai* (Asūra), *Irakkatam* (Rakṣasa), and *Pey-nilai* (Paiṣaca).

Now to give an actual description of the marriage ceremony. A *pandal* was put up which was beautifully decorated with foliage, flowers and festoons of tender cocoanut leaves. It was canopied by cotton cloth, or silk in the case of aristocratic families, and the floor was covered over with sand. It was an occasion of great rejoicing and festivity. Ladies dressed gaily and wearing jewels and garlands of jewels were everywhere in evidence. Pots of *palikai* with tender sprouts

and seedlings, flowers and frankinscence, sandal paste and saffron powder were profusely in use in the ceremony. A huge quantity of rice was cooked with pulses, ghee and oils for feeding the guests. It was the auspicious morning of the day of the crescent moon when the stars shed no evil influence. The asterism Rōhiṇi was in conjunction with the moon. The ceremony was proclaimed by the beat of a big drum. The bride was bathed by four women with water rendered holy, containing flowers, scents and rice-grains. She was adorned with garlands made of soft and fragrant flowers of the *Agatti* (*bauhinea racemosa*) and water lily mixed with blades of the *arukai* grass. The important ceremonies mentioned are: circumambulation, the walking together of the bride and bridegroom over seven steps and the tying of the *Tāli* (symbol of marriage). The garlanding of the bride by her husband was the first formal ceremony gone through. The bride was then given away by her parents with the blessing, "do not swerve from the path of chastity and virtue; always render obedience and service to your loving husband; become the good and true mistress of a big house." After receiving the blessings of all present, "the bride dressed herself in new clothes and retired in great trepidation to the bed-room." After these ceremonies were over, the wife and husband enjoyed the honey-moon.

An examination of the texts reveals that in South India of the *Sangam Age* the *Gandharva* variety was the most prevalent of the eight forms of marriage; and that the marriage customs show little in common with what ethnologists consider to be peculiarly non-Āryan. The benediction at the end of the ceremonial, walking seven steps (Sanskrit *Saptapadi*) and circumambulation are evidently features met with in ancient Āryan marriage ritual.

THE HISTORY OF THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS

BY K. S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

(*Continued from Vol. XXX, No. 3, page* 331)

The Feudatories of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins

THE facts that Mādhavavarman Janāśraya was acknowledged *Sāmrāt*, for he had successfully performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas*, that he set out to conquer the East, that in the reign of his grandson some hundreds of thousands of battles were fought against the East, and that Indrabhaṭṭāraka was successful in these, prove that there should have existed several feudatories to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Of some such feudatory chiefs we perhaps come across in the Tāṇḍivāḍa plates[72] of Pṛthivimahārāja. These plates of Pṛthivimahārāja contain some interesting information. The grandfather and father of Pṛthivimahārāja are named Raṇadurjaya and Vikramēndra.[73] The recent editor of the plates has thrown out the following probable suggestion while commenting on the name of Vikramēndra. The name of Vikramēndra, the father of Pṛthivimahārāja, may perhaps suggest some relationship with the Viṣṇukuṇḍins among whom this name is found more than once. It is quite possible that Pṛthivimahārāja's father Vikramēndra was subordinate to Vikramēndravarman who was one among the two that ruled after Janāśraya Mādhavavarman I, *i.e.* his son or his great grandson.[74] This conjecture seems to receive strength from the fact that Piṣṭapura, which was presumably his capital, was situated within the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dominions. The Tāṇḍivāḍa plates are dated in the forty-sixth year of the reign of Pṛthivimahārāja. The definite

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72 C. P. No. 6 of 1917 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, p. 88 ff.

73 *Ibid.* p. 99.

74 In our view he was the son of Mādhavavarman I, for it will be seen in the sequel that after forty-six years of rule of Pṛthivimahārāja Pulakēśin II conquered him.

information of the Timmapuram plates that Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana was in possession of Piṣṭapura and the mention that it was his secondary capital clearly proves that Piṣṭapura which had presumably been the capital of Pṛthivimahārāja, passed into the hands of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. Whether this took place as a result of conquest or otherwise, we are not certain and it is more probable that the former was the case, for Pṛthivimahārāja had reigned for a sufficiently long period of over forty-six years. The territory which comprised within it the capital Piṣṭapura should have been acquired simultaneously with the dominions of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins which had been made part of the Cāḷukyan kingdom by Pulakēśin II. This event according to us cannot be placed beyond A.D. 612–15.[75] The time of Pṛthivimahārāja as determined by an examination of the name of Raṇadurjaya arrived at by the editor of the plates is certainly beyond doubt and it is well in accordance with our chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings also. Pṛthivimahārāja should have begun to rule in the latter half of the sixth century,[76] and his rule should have come to an end after a reign of forty-six years in the beginning of the seventh century A.D.[77]

A Note on Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti and Bhāravi's Age

We owe much to the discovery made by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi of the work on Sanskrit Prosody called *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* some years ago and its importance to the historian as well as to the Sanskrit scholar cannot be adequately acknowledged. While editing the same in the *Tirumalai Sri Venkateswara Journal* the learned editor has taken great pains to insert an excellent introduction to the paper. We learn from it that " so far as known generally, there are three schools of Prosody relating to the secular literature. The first is of

[75] We agree in the main with the learned editor of the Tāṇḍivāḍa plates and we differ from him in the matter of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy and chronology. See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, p. 95 ff.

[76] *Ibid.* p. 96.

[77] *Ibid.* p. 96.

Bharata, the second is of Piṅgala and the third of Janāśrayīkāra. This work was written under the patronage of king Janāśraya, and it represents the third school. The work is called *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* and " the author was probably Gaṇasvāmin who appended a *bhāṣya* or scholium to it ".

At the outset two questions stand prominent and they are: (1) Who was king Janāśraya under whose patronage the work was composed and (2) when was it composed? The first verse of the work is in praise of a king called Janāśraya who is stated to have performed a number of *yāgas* (sacrifices) and made extensive conquests. The able editor of the discovered work has shrewdly remarked that the verse in it commencing with the words " *yena prāmśum*, etc." compares king Janāśraya with the God Kumāra. In this verse the epithet *taruṇa-ravi-sadṛśa-vadanaḥ mayūra-dhvajaḥ* is applied to Janāśraya and Kumāra and the enemy overcome by them is indicated by " *śaśi-kiraṇa-kumuda-sadṛśam Krauñcasyāgraṁ-śaktyābhinnam* ". We learn from here that Kumuda, *i.e.* the king of the south-western region had been shattered by the power of Janāśraya. A number of verses have been quoted from various dramas and poems and they seem to have been from " Bharata, Vararuci, Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Aśvaghōṣa, Sundara Pāṇḍya, Bhāravi, Vikaṭanītamba, and Kumāradāsa and others."

There are only two kings so far known to history who bore the title Janāśraya. They were Mahārāja Mādhavavarman Janāśraya the great Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, and Avani Janāśraya Pulakēśin of A.D. 739 and who belonged to the third Guzerat Branch of the Western Cāḷukyas. The question therefore reduces itself to which of these two Janāśrayas was the patron of the author of the work *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti*. Avani Janāśraya Pulakēśin could not have been that king, for his date A.D. 739 is certainly very late. Therefore the only king who should have been the author's patron was the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch. This identification gains further support in the narration of the king's achievements, fortunately found in *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* though it is a work on prosody.

Here the king is said to have performed a number of *yāgas* (sacrifices), and made extensive conquests. From a consideration of the five sets of copper plates that belong to the time of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, we learn that Janāśraya Mādhavavarman I had performed *Hiraṇyagarbhas*, eleven *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices, one thousand *Agniṣṭōmas* and other sacrifices. Again we know that he must have made extensive conquests which enabled him to perform as many as eleven *Aśvamēdhas*. It was in his days that the kingdom of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins came to be vast in extent. Further the verse in the work, which compares him with God Kumāra makes it plain that he shattered Kumuda, *i.e.* the king of the south-western region. In the days of his grandson Indrabhaṭṭāraka there was a battle in which the king of that region made a dash against Indrabhaṭṭāraka. But finally it was the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king that was victorious. All these seem to indicate that already in Janāśraya's time the king of the south-western region was a source of trouble and that he was the cause for bringing about the confederacy of kings (as is learnt from the Gōdāvarī plates of Pṛthvīmūlarāja) to aid him against his enemy the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka. From the foregoing it will now be clear that the work was written under the patronage of Janāśraya Mādhavavarman, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king. To the second question we shall presently engage our attention.

If the work *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* is named presumably after Janāśraya Mādhavavarman I, the great king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins who issued his Pulōmbūru grant, it makes clear that at least the work must have been begun, if not completely written, in the reign of Janāśraya whose period was *circa* A.D. 517–65. If this was so, there seem to rise certain discrepancies, which though apparent are capable of solution. The work quotes from among others, a verse from Bhāravi the celebrated writer, under *Udgatāprakaraṇa*. Bhāravi's only known work *Kirātārjunīya* was very famous and was even quoted by his contemporaries, as is clearly borne out by the fact that Durvinīta, the Western Gaṅga king whose protege he was for some time, translated the fifteenth *sarga* or

fifteen[78] *sargas* in Bhāravi's work. The author of *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* had also quoted from the same work.[79] The age of Bhāravi is an uncertain question. But some arguments can be advanced and they are recounted here. The first and only inscriptional mention of Bhāravi is in the Aihoḷe inscription[80] of A.D. 634 where Ravikīrti compares himself to Kāḷidāsa and Bhāravi. The date of Kāḷidāsa is certainly not later than his Gupta contemporaries and hence about A.D. 375–455.[81] That Bhāravi flourished after Kāḷidāsa and that his period was the sixth century A.D. are facts admitted by the majority of scholars. Coming to more definite limits we consider the points that are known about him. Bhāravi was the ancestor of Daṇḍin, who wrote the *Avantisundarikathā*. While stating his ancestral history, Daṇḍin informs us that Bhāravi introduced a certain Dāmōdara[82] into the presence of Viṣṇuvardhana

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78 The passage which gives out this is capable of being translated in both ways.

79 There is good reason for quoting Bhāravi. Bhāravi's work *Kirātārjunīya* is a Sanskrit poem, profuse with alliterations and other forms of verbal ornament and *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* is a work on prosody. Therefore it is but appropriate that Bhāravi is quoted by the author of *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti*.

80 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 3.

81 This conclusion also receives support from the mention of the name Kāḷidāsa in the newly discovered Pattan plates of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II whose period was *circa* A.D. 415–42. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, p. 83 f. Rāmadāsa, in his commentary on *Sēthubandha*, states that Kāḷidāsa wrote the work on behalf of Pravarasēna, at the order of Vikramāditya (Kāvyamāli Ed. p. 1). " Kāḷidāsa might have been sent to the Vākāṭaka court and as a later tradition attributes the work *Sēthubandha* to Kāḷidāsa, we may suppose that he wrote it for Pravaraśēna, when he was in the Vākāṭaka court as an ambassador," *IHQ*. Vol. IX, p. 200. Dr. F. G. Peterson has come to the conclusion that Kāḷidāsa was " born in the Vidarbha land about A.D. 370, and wrote his three plays and the *Kumārasāmbhava* at the court of Chandra Gupta II in the period, roughly speaking 395–410, and the *Mēghaduta* and the *Raghu Vámśa* at the court of Bhōjakaṭaka in the year 410–30, " *JRAS*. 1926, p. 726.

82 The correct text of the relevant passage of the *Kathā* can be seen in *IHQ*. Vol. III, p. 169. All the same many think that Bhāravi was himself called Dāmōdara. Even if it were so our position is not much affected.

and this Viṣṇuvardhana is identified by many scholars with the first king of the Eastern Cāḷukyas. In Daṇḍin's work he is stated to have been *rāja-sūnō* and not even *yuvarāja*. If the identification of the prince with Kubja Vṣṇuvardhana is correct, it is clear that his brother Pulakēśin II had not yet ascended the Cāḷukya throne, *i.e.* in A.D. 609–10, for in that case he should have certainly been called *yuvarāja*.[83] This shows that Rājasūnō Vṣṇuvardhana was very young. The poet did not stay long in Viṣṇuvardhana's court but repaired to Durvinīta's court. The last date of that king cannot go beyond A.D. 580.[84] During his stay in the Gaṅga king's court, Bhāravi was invited by the Pallava king who sent many *Śrīmukhas* (according to the *Avantisundarikathā* of Daṇḍin). Bhāravi reaching the Pallava court settled in Kāñci. From these it is clear that the celebrated poet should have lived in the times of the three kings, Simhaviṣṇu, Durvinīta and Viṣṇuvardhana. The last year of Simhaviṣṇu is certainly not beyond the sixth century (approximately A.D. 585). He ruled in about A.D. 555–85. This establishes the fact that Bhāravi lived in about A.D. 540–600 and that his work *Kirātārjunīya* should have become famous a few years after it was completed. Thus it becomes possible that verses from Bhāravi's work which was probably composed in about A.D. 555–65, was quoted by the author of *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti*.

We have seen that it is on account of the ancestral history which Daṇḍin gives in his work that we have been so far able

[83] The title was always used to denote a person, who " having been selected by the reigning king as his successor, was admitted meanwhile to a share in the administration probably with a view to really securing the succession ".

[84] The period of Durvinīta was *circa* A.D. 540–80 (see my note on page 262 of *QJMS*. Vol. XXIX). Therefore it is just possible that Bhāravi had introduced Dāmōdara into the presence of Viṣṇuvardhana in the first years of the last quarter of the sixth century, and shortly afterwards repaired to Durvinīta's court where also he did not stay long. By the end of A.D. 580 he must have reached the Pallava capital.

to arrive at an approximate period for Bhāravi, his ancestor. In the same work the same writer tells us while mentioning his ancestor Bhāravi, that Bhāravi had three sons of whom Manōratha was the *second*, that this Manōratha had four sons of whom one of the younger sons was Vīradatta whose wife was Gourī. To Vīradatta and Gaurī was born Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin lost both his parents while young. A friend of Daṇḍin was a certain Mātridatta, whose native place was the Kēraḷa country and who had been residing in the court of a Pallava king. The age of Daṇḍin is known to be the latter half of the seveuth century, and Daṇḍin was Bhāravi's descendant. Before Daṇḍin and after Bhāravi two generations, *i.e.* about sixty years should have passed. Hence the last years of Bhāravi, the ancestor of Daṇḍin, should have fallen towards the end of the sixth century A.D. which is the same as the result that we obtained above. Thus Bhāravi was a celebrated author in the beginning of the latter half of the sixth century. Bhāravi's work was probably composed in about A.D. 555–60 and as the author of *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* quotes from Bhāravi the last mentioned work should have been written in about A.D. 560–65.

From what has been said above it would be clear that *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* was a work written in about A.D. 560–65, and under the patronage of Janāśraya Mādhavavarman, the great Viṣṇukuṇḍin king. Incidentally the age of Bhāravi is also clear to have been the latter half of the sixth century.

SECTION IV

Viṣṇukuṇḍin Polity

Under this section we do not intend to go in detail into all the phases of their administration and rule; but it is necessary that all the salient features are studied and an altogether tolerable idea of their polity made out. We need hardly repeat, that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were practically the successors of the great Vākāṭakas, in Trikūṭa, Malaya and the Eastern Territories. They used the Sanskirt language as did the

Imperial Vākāṭakas; the Vākāṭakas were Śaivites and introduced Śaivism into their dominions and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings were, each one of them a devout worshipper of the feet of the holy lord of Śrī Parvata Mahēśvara (Śiva), *i.e.* an ardent Śaivite. As the Vākāṭakas unified their position in the northern India, so also the Viṣṇukuṇḍins unified their position in the East and the West. Thus it is that they were akin to the Vākāṭakas and as we have noted already they rose when that great family was in a sunken state, but they remained still subordinate to the Imperial Vākāṭakas. They grew stronger by inter-marriage between the great dynasties. The kings of this dynasty were also like the Vākāṭaka rulers, Brahmin aristocrats, military by profession.[85] Very soon they rose to power and the dynasty which had the ill-fate to grow into a sunken state twice, did not live long, even after it had been revived and uplifted by Pṛthviṣēṇa II. This was so because we see that with Hariṣēṇa, who was for all practical purposes the successor of Pṛthviṣēṇa II, the glorious name and fame of the dynasty ended. He left no successors and the only thing that we could relate with some amount of exactness is that most probably it was his daughter who was given in marriage to Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya, the greatest king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, a king who had performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and one thousand other sacrifices and such others as are significant of his imperial position (*sāmrāt*) and rule. It was by this act that the dynasty of the Vākāṭakas was not allowed to end itself in oblivion, after the reign of Hariṣēṇa. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were thus the successors of the Vākāṭakas or to put it more precisely they were the Vākāṭakas of their period. The other achievements of Mādhavavarman also point to the same conclusion. We have the full effect of the northern (Vākāṭaka) imperial idea in the reign of Mādhavavarman I, who was one of the most noted Brahmanical kings of the period. Thus it is that the rule of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins was one of high imperial watermark and surely the administration would not

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[85] Compare Mādhavavarman I called Paramabrāhmaṇya, etc.

have lacked any of the salient features of such a rule. In the days of its height of fame and glory the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dominions constituted the Trikūṭa, Malaya Trīvaranagara (Kōśala), portions of Vizagapatam, Gōdāvarī, Guntūr and the Kṛṣṇa Districts. Of the administration of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, in particular, the following features may be noted. The Pulōmbūru plates of Mahārāja Janāśraya give him the adjunct *avasita-vividha-divya* in *l*. 8 found in the second plate, and this can be said to indicate the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeal in the kingdom under the sway of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, because *vividha-divya* means various forms of ordeal,[86] and this feature it should be remarked is also in conformity with the strict orthodox Brahmanical rule which followed the standards laid down by the great law-givers of India.

The kings of the dynasty gave grants either from their victorious camps or places of residence (*vāsaka*) and particularly in the instance of the Pulōmbūru plates of Mādhavavarma the grant was made after crossing the river Gōdāvarī, when the king set out to conquer the East (*prāg-dik*). All the usual features of the grants are seen, as for instance the king declaring to the officials and Mahārathas of the particular districts, that the particular lands in the particular villages were granted to the persons mentioned, free of all taxes and that every body should respect and guard the grant. The charters contain at their end the usual imprecatory verses, and it is also added that Hastikōśa and Vīrakōśa will protect the grant. That Hastikōśa and Vīrakōśa were offices and that they were not personal names as some writers believe will be seen from the sequel. The Hastikōśa and Vīrakōśa are mentioned in the Pulōmbūru plates of Mādhavavarman I, the Pulōmbūru plates of Jayasiṁha I and in the Gōdāvarī plates of Rāja Pṛthvīmūla. They figure as the executors in these grants and their duty was also to protect them. The remarks

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[86] This point was first brought to the notice of scholars by D. C. Sircar in *JAHRS*. Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 195.

of Dr. Fleet,[87] while editing the Gōdāvarī plates of Rāja Pṛthvīmūla are worth quoting. These officials, he says, "evidently kept the purses and made disbursements on account of respectively the establishments of elephants and horses who were to be rewarded for deeds of valour". "The epithet *Mahāmātra Yōdha* applied to Hastikōśa-Vīrakōśa in the Pulōmbūru grant of Mādhavavarman I, seems to show that they were *Mahāmātra* of the Military department. It may also be that the epithet *Mahāmātra* goes with Hastikōśa and Vīrakōśa. The word *Mahāmātra* according to *Medini* means *Hasthipākādhipa* (the head of elephant-drivers or riders, *cf.* Vulgo, *Mahut*). The word *Yōdha* generally means a soldier. Hastikōśa and Vīrakōśa have been taken to be 'Officers in command of the elephant force and infantry' in *A.R.* on *S.I.Ep.* for 1914, page 85." Thus we see that they were only officials for elephant forces and of infantry who had usually been entrusted with responsible duties of executing grants and protecting or guarding them. It is worth remembering that the word *Hasthiyadhyakṣa* meaning Superintendent of elephant forces, occurs in inscriptions. It would not be wrong to suppose that Hastikōśa and Hasthiyadhyakṣa meant almost the same and that the execution and protection of grants were entrusted to them. They were offices. The word Hastikōśa also occurs in the Tamil literature. *Peruṅgadai*, a Tamil version of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, contains a very useful and interesting reference to Hasthikōśa. In the relevant passage,[88] Hasthikōśa is mentioned as one among the bodies that always followed the Kings or Chiefs of repute. Among such others may be mentioned the *Aimperuṅkuḻu* and the *Eṇpērāyam*, etc. of the Tamil literature. Hasthikōśa here means that it was a body of persons who kept guard of elephant forces, who were capable of rearing and guarding elephants. From the inscriptional references cited above, it will be evident that they

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[87] *JBBRAS.* Vol. XVI, p. 144, ff.

[88] *Peruṅgadai*, Swaminathayyar's edn. Canto IV, Sec. IX, line 5, p. 792.

were military officers or heads of elephant forces. In our records they figure as highly responsible officers taking care of royal grants. The form of the few available grants has much to tell us with regard to the administration of the country by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Their system of polity did not vary from the usual ancient Hindu system of administration. The country was divided into *Rāṣṭras* or *Viṣayas*, *e.g.* Guḍḍavāḍi-Viṣaya, Plaki-Viṣaya or Rāṣṭra, Kammarāṣṭra, etc. These Viṣayas or Rāṣṭras were sub-divided into *grāmas* or villages and *agrahāras*, as for instance, Peruvādaka or Pervāṭaka in Plaki-Rāṣṭra, Viḷēmbala in Guḍḍāḍi-Viṣaya, Kunrūr in Kamma-Rāṣṭra, the village of Rēgoṇḍa, etc. The villages had their own *Grāmakūṭas* or assemblies which, we have good reasons to believe, were regularly constituted bodies having set rules of conduct to follow. Grants of villages were made by kings either from victorious camps or places of residence (*vāsaka*) to Brahmins who were well versed or masters of the Vēdas, the Vēdāngas and the like. They were granted for purposes like the "increase of the rewards of the king's own good deeds etc." The king while he made the grant, commanded all the ryots assembled in the village to obey his orders and exhorted all the future kings to respect his gift and leave the grant uninterfered. As usual the charter was written at the command or instructions of the King and the executors and protectors of these grants were Hasthikōśa and Vīrakōśa. The *Mahattaras* of the Viṣayas are referred to by the words *Viṣayē-Mahattarānadhikārapuruṣāmsca*. These Mahattaras were the gentlemen who constituted the village assemblies of the day and they are perhaps identical with the Perumakkaḷ of the Tamil inscriptions. Their executives (*Adhikārapuruṣas*) were present when the grant was made. The Sañjam plates of Buddhavarṣa of about the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. mentions *Kulamahattarādhikāraṇaḥ*,[89] just after the *Grāmakūṭa*, meaning the officers of the heads or elders of the families. Thus then the *Mahattaras* or their executives

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[89] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV, p. 150.

Adhikāriṇaḥ or *Adhikārapuruṣas* were really heads of families. The term *Mahattarānadhikārapuruṣāmsca* doubtless indicates that it was the executive that shouldered the responsibilities of the village and its assembly. We do not know the rules by which they were chosen and the other details of conduct.

The lands were measured in terms of *Nivarthanas*[90] and *Nivarthana* was also a unit of land measure in the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas.[91]

(*Concluded*)

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[90] *JAHRS*. Vol. VI, Pt. I, pp. 17, ff.

[91] *Ep. Ind*. Vol. XXIII, Pt. III, pp. 82.

Vol. XXX, p. 381, l. 3, read *an* after *us*.

HAIDAR ĀLI

Character, Personality, Public and Private Life

By D. S. Achuta Rao, M.A.

Haidar was not all 'blood and iron' as his stormy career would suggest to our mind. He was a father to his people, stern to the unruly and the wicked but all kindness and love to the deserving, the weak and the destitute. He raised a battalion of orphans, provided for their maintenance and arranged for their education. As Schwartz says "his care for orphans gave me great pleasure....he allows no orphan to be neglected in his dominions. He feeds and clothes them and gives them little wooden firelocks with which they exercise".[1]

In dealing with his subjects as well as officials Haidar was like a lion of Justice. This was indeed a notable feature of his character. Throughout the twenty-one years of his rule we do not find a single deviation from this principle. He always tried to ascertain the exact truth about the oppressed and the suitors for justice. He never favoured the oppressors whether they were 'masters or servants, foes or friends, sons or relatives'.[2] He neither showed delay nor lenity in the punishment of offenders or wrong doers. De La Tour depicts an interesting anecdote[3] which typifies this aspect of Haidar's character. In 1767 when Haidar was going out with his usual retinue at Coimbatore, an old woman prostrated before him one evening and cried out, justice! "Haider", says De La Tour, "immediately caused his carriage to be stopped and demanded her request". She answered "My lord, I had but one daughter and Aggi Muhammad[4] has ravished her from me".

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[1] *Letter of Rev. Schwartz*; Pearson, *Life of Schwartz*, 1, 388–40; Wilks, ii, App. 577.

[2] *Letter of Rev. Schwartz, op. cit.*

[3] *M.M.D.L.T.* i, 29–30.

[4] This Aggi Muhammad according to *M.M.D.L.T.* was then sixty years of age and had been chief usher to Haidar for twenty-five years and had been often rewarded for his services. *M.M.D.L.T. op. cit.*

Haidar replied "Aggi Muhammad has gone from hence for more than a month. How does it happen that you wasted all this time without complaining?" "My lord, I had made many requests to Haidar Shah and received no answer." This Haidar Shah was the chief usher who generally preceded Haidar bearing 'a large colar of gold' as a mark of dignity. Haidar then gave orders to his usher to return instantly to the capital and also commanded the old woman to proceed thither. All the members present at the court were in great apprehension for the officer who was so much beloved and no one was daring enough to intercede for him. Tippu implored one of the European generals to procure his pardon but Haidar refused to forgive him and said "there is no greater crime than that of interrupting the communication between the sovereign and the subjects. It is the duty of the powerful to see that the weak have justice. The sovereign is the only protector God has given them and he who suffers oppression to pass unpunished among the subjects is deservedly deprived of their affection and confidence".[5] Haidar then gave orders to punish his usher with two hundred stripes on the parade and at once commanded an Abyssynian horse-guard to go with the woman to the country where 'Aggi Muhammad' was and to deliver the girl to her mother and to return with the head of 'Aggi Muhammad'. Accordingly the girl was rescued and the head of Aggi Muhammad was brought to Haidar. Such ruthlessness in punishing the evil-doers was one of the causes of his success in administration and the above account reveals the popular confidence in the great ruler's equity and justice.

Haidar was amiable, courteous and generous and perhaps cruel from necessity but never from choice. Regarding his treatment of European prisoners many calumnies have been made.[6] But John Lindsay, one of the prisoners taken along with Baillie has drawn a picture of Haidar in his

[5] *M.M.D.L.T. op. cit.*

[6] See *Memoirs*, i, 123, 166–67.

'Journal'[7] which shows that he was not altogether an inhuman or a barbarous tyrant but one who was pre-eminently human. "With regards to us" observes Lindsay "he (Haidar) has given positive orders that we should be treated with every mark of respect and kindness".[8] Haidar on seeing their dreadful suffering from the wounds received at the battle allowed his French surgeons "to dress their wounds and to render them every assistance".[9] When he was informed of the severity with which they were treated by his men "he seems to have been very sorry for it"[10] and allowed a thousand rupees for their expenses at the same time desiring them "to eat, drink, sleep and be happy".[11] Such experiences recorded unmistakably prove that Haidar was not incapable of the tender feelings of humanity. His generosity was prodigal and his disposition kindly. Sad tales might indeed be told of many of his English captives who were half-starved and were forcibly circumcised but it must be kept in mind that the English soldier, as Bowring remarks, was regarded by the natives as a ferocious beast who could only be subdued by brute force.[12]

Contemporary writers have fortunately left us fairly comprehensive and descriptive accounts of his personality and his private and public life. The description given by De La Tour of Haidar's personal appearance is as vivid as any. "He is five feet six inches high, active and capable of bearing great fatigue on foot as well as on horseback. His complexion is very brown as is that of all Indians who expose themselves

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7 *Life of the Lindsays*, iii, 318.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.* 368.

10 *Ibid.* 271–72.

11 *Ibid.* 271–72.

12 Bowring, 109: Michaud, a French historian writing about Haidar in the early years of the nineteenth century, says that "certain actions of his have given to civilised Europe the air of a wild despot but when one compares with other princes one admires his moderation and sees in him a generous prince". *Histore de Mysore*, i, 43.

to the air and sun. His features are coarse, his nose small and turned up, his lower lip rather thick. He wears neither beard nor whiskers. His countenance though not handsome is open and calculated to inspire confidence, and his aspect is dignified and majestic."[13]

He was a man of enormous energy physically and mentally. His indefatigable industry and minute attention to detail were becoming the great ruler that he was. Though there were able ministers to assist him in the administration of the State, yet his constant attention to the details of business of every department was necessary and in fact he himself became the most active part of the administrative machine. From sunrise till late in the night he was pre-occupied with public business. His time was regulated with utmost care and the amount of business both public and private transacted by him far surpassed the limits of ordinary human capacity. His servants woke him up exactly at sunrise shortly after which the majors of the army who had been on duty on the preceding day and night and likewise those who relieved them entered, made their reports and received orders to be transmitted to ministers and generals[14] who themselves had the privilege to see their master if they had anything extraordinary to communicate to him. "Then he sat down on a chair and washed his face while the messengers and spies who had arrived in the night or morning stood on all sides reporting news and intelligence of the day before."[15] Two or three hours were spent in toilet but when any military affairs required his attention the toilet was no more thought of.[16] Between eight and nine in the morning he received the secretaries of various departments and delivered to them according to their departments the letters received giving at the same time necessary instructions relating to them. His sons, relatives and the nobles then entered and

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[13] *M.M.D.L.T.* i, 22.

[14] *Ibid.* i, 36 ; The details of Haidar's daily routine are derived from the accounts of *M.M.D.L.T.* Kirmani and Mirza Ikbal.

[15] Mirza Ikbal, 505.

[16] *M.M.D.L.T.* 27.

he took with them the usual refreshment. Then he appeared at the balcony and received the salute of his elephants and horses and even his tigers 'covered with an embroidered cloth' passed before him.[17] After the repast Haidar entered the Hall of Audience or the grand tent if at the army.[18] "At this audience thirty or forty secretaries are seated along the wall to his left who write continually. Couriers arrive almost every instant and are conducted with great noise and bustle to the feet of the prince, where they lay their despatches. A secretary kneeling takes the packet, opens it and reads the letter. Haidar immediately dictates the answer and the letter is carried to the office of the ministers who affix their names by means of a seal. Haidar himself signs the despatches in order as they are completed, as well a number of private orders".[19] Then if any new horses had been purchased or new cannon bought from any port or arsenal he then inspected them while he also enlisted new recruits who had offered themselves to his service, fixed their monthly pay and allotted them to different ranks in the army.[20]

Haidar was thus engaged till midday after which he had a short repose. The evening was again spent in the Hall of Audience when only persons of rank or distinction like the ministers, generals or ambassadors from foreign courts were admitted to his presence. He reviewed his troops from the balcony. In the night there was for the most part a comedy usually enlivened by music and dancing[21] by the Beydar girls. Amidst the entertainment to which Haidar was indifferent he usually discussed with his ministers or ambassadors "sometimes passing into a cabinet to speak with more secrecy" and as in the morning despatched the State business without seeming to be busy.[22] After his night meal at midnight he retired to his private apartments.

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17 *M.M.D.L.T.* i, 28.
18 *Ibid.* 30.
19 *Ibid.* 31–32.
20 *Ibid.* 32.
21 *Ibid.* 37; Kirmani, 489.
22 *Ibid.* 38.

In the despatch of business Haidar's diligence was indefatigable and the active powers of his mind were continually exercised in attending to several subjects at once in dictating answers to a secretary, answering the request of a spy, following the recital of a complex account and at the same time giving each individual his appropriate instruction[23] with such rapidity and precision that nothing escaped his eyes, hearing or attention. " When I sat near Haidar Nayak," says Schwartz, " I particularly observed with what regular succession and rapid despatch his affairs proceeded one after another ".[24] The activity and industry of Haidar equalled those of Akbar and Aurangzeb and of his contemporary Nana Fadnavis but unlike those rulers he was ignorant of letters. The sum of his literary attainments consisted in learning to write reversely the first letter of his name. To enable him to sign public documents, " he with much labour copies until he could write the form of his first letter which he wrote in a reverse manner ".[25] Though his mind was little cultivated he had the right perspective. He formed his mind upon a broad experience and sagacious observation of mankind. He was the ideal of a man of trained intellect and superb imagination and he possessed some of those remarkable attributes rarely found even in the cultivated or the literate. In penetration and store of practical wisdom " the deceased Nawab took the lead from all the state ministers, princes and kings of former days "[26] and " in the weighty judgment given by God he surpassed all the learned and wise of his times ".[27] He had a facility of conversing on any subject,[28] and although sparing of speech yet when he did speak his language was

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[23] Kirmani, 477–82 ; *Letter of Rev. Schwartz* ; Wilks, ii, 575 ; *Adrian Moens Memoirs*, 164.

[24] *Ibid. Letter of Rev. Schwartz.*

[25] *Ibid.* 192.

[26] *Ibid.* 473.

[27] *Ibid.* 477.

[28] *M.M.D.L.T.* i, 24.

extremely pleasing and appropriate.[29] He was also well versed in the sciences of physiognomy and palmistry.[30] One of the keen glances of his exalted understanding did immense work. It decided without difficulty the enlistment of recruits, the merits of horses about to be purchased and their prices, the value of precious stones and their selection.[31]

Above all, Haidar was endowed with a most retentive memory.[32] He could rapidly comprehend and distinguish the different voices of his men in the audience while attending to his own work and he could recollect a word for years. " To his strength of memory," says Kirmani, " thousands of praises are justly due, for although former generals and mighty kings and rulers had the advantage of learning on their side, yet, God, the true preserver, never endowed any of them with the clear intellect and memory of Haidar."[33]

Haidar never considered his illiteracy as any serious impediment to the discharge of the weighty functions of the State. On the other hand, he believed that the success of the administration depended on self-reliance and competency. In this connection, it is interesting to quote the striking anecdote given by Wilks. On the conquest of Citradrug Haidar entrusted the duties of the Civil and Military Governor of the fort and territory of Citradrug to one Shaik Ayaz, a Nayar convert whom Haidar held in great esteem. But modest as he was, faithful and brave, Ayaz wished to decline the distinction conferred on him and felt himself incompetent and particularly adverted to the fact that he could neither read nor write and consequently was incapable of a civil charge. But Haidar instantly replied " Keep a Corla[34] at your right hand and that will do you better service than pen and ink ". Then assuming a greater countenance " place reliance "

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[29] Kirmani, 477.

[30] *Ibid.* 482.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Mirza Ikbal, 505 ; *Adrian Moens Memoirs*, 164.

[33] Kirmani, 82–83.

[34] A long whip.

added he " on your excellent understanding. Act, yourself alone, fear nothing from the calumnies of the scribers ! Trust in me as I trust in you. Reading and writing ! How have I risen to the empire without the knowledge of either ".[35]

Even though Haidar was characterised by such an attitude, yet it did not prevent him from forming a just estimate of learning. He was very solicitous regarding the education of his sons. " Under the care of the fakirs and the eye of his father, Tippu became an expert soldier, and in the management of the horse, the bow, the lance and the musket shone prominent."[36]

He led a simple and unostentatious life whether as a nawab or as a private soldier. He despised equally the trapplings of State and allurements of luxury.[37] His dress was scrupulously simple. Generally he wore a vest and trousers of white muslin and a yellow turban.[38] As the general of the army he wore a uniform of a vest of white satin with gold flowers faced with yellow and attached by cords and strings of the same colour with a scarf of white silk about the waist.[39]

He was not fond of sumptuous or delicious dishes, nor was he particular of what he ate. " He gave no orders to his table and ate whatever was placed before him."[40] Even in his journeys or marches he mostly subsisted on parched grain, almonds and dry bread made of rice or ragi and with them he appeared well-contented.[41] At his table his most intimate friends partook but " the shares and food of all were alike."[42]

A small silken carpet and two or three pillows were all he required for his bed.[43] In short, Haidar's mode of living

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35 Wilks, ii, 189.

36 *Life of the Lindsays*, iii.

37 Mirza Ikbal, 506 ; *M.M.D.L.T.* 23–24.

38 *Ibid.* (M.I.).

39 *M.M.D.L.T. op. cit.*

40 Mirza Ikbal, 506.

41 *Ibid.*

42 *Ibid.*

43 Mirza Ikbal, 507.

was simple and austere. It was not like that of a man of rank but that of a private soldier.

In spite of his creed Haidar was addicted to drinking but he drank only with moderation. Adrian Moens remarks that "he was a lover of drink and even of strong drink ".[44] Though he indulged in liquor yet he kept up the vigour of his mind and body and Moens observes "he has not since shortened his life or weakened himself ".

Of his temper as of his countenance he possessed the disciplined command ; his apparent bursts of anger were not the result of mental disturbance but of the necessity of ruling with a rod of iron. In a humbler sphere he would probably have been deemed as a man of wit. When he chose he showed wonderful powers of geniality and friendship and he was not incapable of warming and lasting attachments. He sometimes indulged in raillery with less reserve than was required by the severe dignity of his station. "He has none of that stateliness and taciturnity " says *M.M.D.L.T.* "which almost all other princes of the East affect to preserve. He converses with the greatest affability ".[45] In short his frank and unreserved manners and courtesy and liberality gained the hearts of all who approached him and won him the admiration of his contemporaries.

Finally it remains to say a few words about the romantic side of this man's remarkable career. His private life was not overshadowed by the sceptre of the State and he was not denied of the affectionate indulgences in domestic affairs. He was an affectionate son and there are none but pleasant indications of his relations with his family. In 1767 when the combined armies of Haidar and the Nizam suffered a great reverse in the battle against the English forces on the field of Tiruvannamalai Haidar's mother who was then at Bednur was deeply mortified at the news and apprehending danger for her son, notwithstanding the inconvenience of travelling

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[44] Adrian Moens, 164 ; see Kirmani, 475.

[45] *M.M.D.L.T.* 23–24.

a hundred and fifty leagues in the rainy season made her journey to Tiruvannamalai. Haidar hearing of the arrival of his mother instantly left the camp with his son Tippu, made her obeisance and conducted her to his tent. When he enquired what could have induced her to make her journey to the battlefield she replied in a low tone "I was desirous, my son, of seeing how you bear the ill-fortune you have sustained". Haidar with his usual serenity, unshakable will and self-reliance said "that if heaven should put him to no greater trial, he should find no difficulty in supporting it". The mother feeling confident of the capabilities of her son departed and returned to Bednur.[46]

Like Nana Fadnavis[47] Haidar was fond of the fair sex and in the course of his life he married no less than four times.[48] Of all, he loved most his first wife, Shaphima Begum, the sister of Mīr Ali Raza Khān and Tippu's mother,[49] both for her personal charms and moral virtues. However, Mirza Ikbal informs us that Haidar used to quarrel with his wife and on some occasions "bore the violence of the lady's tongue with great resignation and patience".[50] Yet he was fond of her because she undertook in her own person the management of the household and had incessant care for his welfare.[51]

Like many of the Mughal monarchs Haidar maintained an extensive harem which consisted of women of all countries and of all descriptions[52] and even "European mistresses".[53] It is further alleged that he did not scruple to seize any girl who possessed superior attractions;[54] but in this Haidar never committed such excesses which were reserved for Tippu.

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46 *M.M.D.L.T.*, ii, 98–100.
47 See *Kincaid and Parsinis*, iii, 246.
48 *H.N. M.A.R.*, 1930, p. 102.
49 *Ibid.* ms. f. 184–86.
50 *Ibid.* 500.
51 *Ibid.* 501.
52 *H.N.* ms. f. 109; M.I. 499.
53 Peixoto f. 139.
54 *H.N.* ms. f. 109.

Apart from the foregoing, evidence is lacking to support these attacks on Haidar's private life. In any case, Haidar did not allow his sensuality to incapacitate him from his main business of governing: while great allowances must be made for him considering the time in which he lived and the licentiousness which generally resulted from protracted warfare.

Indeed Haidar possessed remarkable qualities of head and heart and in great part of his life, much can be found deserving the applause of posterity.

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PRADHĀNA VENKAPPAIAH—POET AND PLAYWRIGHT

By M. P. L. Sastry, M.A.

Venkappaiah was a minister of Mysore serving nominally under the Mysore Kings, Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar II, Nanjarāja Wodeyar and Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Wodeyar, but actually under Haider Ali from about 1763 A.D. till 1780 A.D. His activities, however, were not confined to matters of administration and court politics only. He was an eminent scholar in Sanskrit and Kannada and the many works that he has written bear evidence to his abilities as a writer of wide interests and catholic outlook. He was also interested in music and painting.

Venkappaiah played a very prominent part in the history of Mysore, during the eighteenth century. He belongs to the village Rāmapura which is mentioned in almost all his works and it is on the banks of the Kapini river near Caṭṭnahalli about ten miles south-west of Mysore.

The history of Pradhāna Venkappaiah can be built up from the following sources:—

1. *Mahārājara Vamśāvaḷi.*
2. *Haider-Nāmā* (a manuscript in Kannada unearthed by the Archæological Department, Mysore, which is a chronicle describing the detailed accounts of the events in the time of Haider).
3. *Memoirs of Haider Ali from the year* 1758 to 1770 (An account of the manuscript is included in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of Mysore for* 1937).
4. *History of Mysore* by Lieut. Colonel Mark Wills.

Venkappaiah lived in troublous times. Conditions at home were none too satisfactory. The atmosphere at the court was full of intrigues. The kings were not very powerful and the administration was usually in the hands of one

or other of the king's favourites or relatives. At the time we are speaking about, the most powerful man in the country was Kaḷale Nanjarāja, father-in-law of the ruler Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar II. Nanjarāja, Sarvādhikāri Nanjarāja as he was called, was an able administrator. Though he was supposed to be in charge of only the Revenue and the Finance portfolios, actually his influence extended over every other department and his word was law, practically. However he failed to get full control over the army, as it was in the hands of a powerful man like Haider Āli. This Haider Āli was already gaining in prestige and power and in a short time he was able to displace Nanjarāja.

The country was not free from outside troubles either. The Marāthas were leading in large armies again and again; and every time, they had to be sent back with huge ransoms.

Venkappaiah was involved in all the intrigues at court and even in many negotiations with outside powers.

He began his life in a small way. He first won the favour of the king and got a footing in the Mysore administration. The two powerful people at the time in the country were (1) Kaḷale Nanjarāja and (2) Haider Āli. When Immadi Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar came to the throne in 1734 the administration of the country was overhauled. Venkappaiah who had become prominent and influential by then was appointed as the nominal Pradhān,[1] on condition of being in all things subservient to the will of Sarvādhikāri Nanjarāj. For six years Venkappaiah conducted the Civil administration of the country with ability and intelligence. The Pradhān later on seems to have helped the king in overthrowing Nanjarāja. However, this did not help Venkappaiah, for Haider Āli who was becoming all powerful became the superior of the Pradhān. By the time Nanjarāja Wodeyar came to the throne, Venkappaiah's position had become quite secure and he was in charge of all the departments of the Government except the

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[1] *History of Mysore*, by Lieut. Col. Mark Wills, Vol. I, Chapter VII.

army.[2] Pradhāna Venkappaiah was responsible for making a treaty with Raghōba who was about to seize Seringapatam on account of some misunderstanding between Haider Āli and the Marāthā Government and save the country from one more war.

Not only was he in charge of several departments of the Government and discharged his work with marked ability and intelligence but he also took part in a number of battles. One of them is the fierce battle that took place in April 1771 between the Marāthās and the Mysore army. Venkappaiah, with Haider's young son Tippu, fought with the enemies.[3]

With Haider's coming into power, Venkappaiah lost his prestige and influence in the country. Haider, cautious man that he was, did not like a successful intriguer like Venkappaiah in the capital and under the pretext of punishment for some mistake removed him as Amildar to a distant place like Sira. In spite of his many trials Venkappaiah did not regain his old position in the capital and he spent his last days unhappily.

It is indeed surprising that Venkappaiah, thus immersed in public affairs, found time for sustained literary activity. He wrote dramas, çampus, works on alankāra and grammar in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. All his works are of considerable merit. But none of his works have been published so far.

Manuscripts of his works are found in the Oriental Library, Mysore. A review of some of these will be made here.

The following is the list of works that have been attributed to the authorship of Venkappaiah :—

1. *Kāmavilāsabhāṇa.*
2. *Kukṣimbharaprahasana.*
3. *Mahēndravijayaḍima.*
4. *Veerarāghava Vyāyōga.*
5. *Lakṣmīswayamvara Samavākāra.*

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[2] *Mahārājara Vamśāvaḷi.*

[3] *Report of the Archæological Department in Mysore for* 1930.

6. *Vibudhadānava Samavākāra.*
7. *Seethākalyāṇa Vīdhi.*
8. *Rukmiṇīmādhavanamanka.*
9. *Ūrvaśeesārvabhaumēhāmṛga*
10. *Sudhājharī.*
11. *Kuśalava Campu.*
12. *Alankāramaṇi Darpaṇam.*
13. *Jagannāthavijayakāvyam.*
14. *Karṇāṭarāmāyaṇa.*
15. *Indirābhyudaya* or *Rāmābhyudaya.*
16. *Hanumadvilāsa.*
17. *Hanumatśatakam.*
18. *Sūryaśatakam.*

In Sanskrit, plays have been classified elaborately under various subdivisions, and the well-known writers on rhetoric have divided them into two great classes : (1) *Rūpaka* (principal dramas) and (2) *Uparūpaka* (minor dramas). This kind of division is entirely based on the theme, hero, extent of the play, *Rasa* and other specialities. The principal dramas are of ten species and the minor are of eighteen.

Pradhāna Venkappaiah has written eight types of *rūpakas* (principal dramas) except the *Nātaka* and the *Prakaraṇa.* Every one of his dramas may be taken as an illustration of the type specified in Sanskrit.

1. *Kāmavilāsabhāṇa* (कामविलासभाण).

Is a play in one act. *Śṛngāra* is the dominant *Rasa.* The play begins with the following invocatory stanza :

जयंति जगदानंदमंदारोदयहेतवः ।
चिदानंदगुरोरंघ्रिनखेंदुकिरणांकुराः ॥

The stanzas that follow the invocatory one tell us something about the parentage of the poet, his qualifications and other works written by him.

To the question put by the Pāripārśvaka कस्य कवेर्वदनारविंद विहरमाणा भारतीविलासोऽयं सूक्तिनिष्पंदः, the stage manager replies thus :

जगद्विदितमपि जानाति भवान् तन्न ।
यश्श्रीरामपादारविंदविहरद्भृंगायमाणा मल ।
स्वांत श्री पवनात्मज प्रसवनस्स्वाधीननानाकलाः ॥
येनाकारि करींद्र नंदितसरं सीताविवाहाभिदं ।
काव्यं श्रीहनुमज्जयेनचसमं कर्णाटरामायणम् ॥
शब्दार्थोभयमर्मसौरभकलां जानन् रसस्यध्वनेः
यः पुंभाव सरस्वतीति कवयः जालेषु जेगीय्यते ।
आशास्यार्पण तत्समागत वरामासेतु सीताचलम्
संचिन्वन्विमलं यशो विजयते धर्मो वपुष्मानिव ॥

अपिच

विश्वान्मेदिनि मौनि भार्गव कुले दुग्धांबुधो प्राज्वले ।
हंपार्याभिधमंत्रिणस्समुदितो वागां (चां)बिका गर्भतः ॥
आजन्मप्रथमानमान विलसत्सौशील्य साम्राज्य भू ।
वेंकप्पप्रभुरुन्नतो गुणगणैः सोऽयं नकेन श्रुतः ॥

कथमस्य संततपरिशील्यमाणब्रह्मविद्यारहस्यस्यप्रीतिकलप्रवर्धमान लक्ष्मीविलास-सहस्रसमुदितस्यच रूपकेऽपि सरसपदसंदर्भा सरस्वती ।

He was a devotee of Srī Rāma and Hanumān. He belonged to the Bhāradvājagōtra, being the son of one Hampaiah and Vāgāmbikā. He had written a number of works which included *Seetāvivāhanātaka*, *Hanumajjaya Kāvya* and *Rāmāyaṇa* in Kannada. He was a student of Philosophy too.

The characters that appear in the play are Thallubhatta, Kamalākṣa, Pallavaśēkhara, Śaśiprabhā and Campakalatā. Campakalatā is a lady of great beauty (मदनमहाराजविजयवैजयंती भूतायाः). She is the heroine of the play. The mental feelings of the lovers, moonlight and other things are described in an exquisite manner.

The following is one of such fine descriptions :—

प्राचीपंकजलोचना कुचतटी गाढां कपालीमिहत् ।
काश्मीरद्रव मुद्रणादिवभरं रक्तस्समिंदोच्छविः ॥
श्रांतिः कैरमणी समागमकृतां मोक्तुं विनिद्रावशात्
इंदुः पश्चिमशैलकंधरकटीमीषत्प्रभो विंदति ॥

2. *Kukṣimbharaprahasana* (कुक्षिंभरप्रहसन)

This is a play in one act which is similar to a farce. The characters are of the नीच type. Vakradanta, Picamanḍala, a young widow, and Kukṣimbhara who under the garb of a mendicant is engaged in love sport, are some of them. *Hāsya* is the ruling sentiment in the drama.

3. *Mahēndravijayaḍima* (महेंद्रविजयडिम)

The theme of this play is the well-known Purāṇic story about समुद्रमथन. Mahēndra figures as the hero here. He is captured by Bali a demon lord. Angiras, the priest of gods, suggests that the enemy is to be conquered under the plea of getting nectar. The gods follow the suggestion. With the help of the Lord Nārāyaṇa the whole thing ends well with the victory to Mahēndra. *Raudra* is the ruling sentiment of the play. The drama consists of four acts. The excitement and fear caused to gods and demons on various occasions during the churning of the ocean and the fight between them are well described. The hero of the play is described as Dhīrōdāttanāyaka. The special feature of the drama has been explained by the poet himself.

यत्रैवास्ति समस्त संस्तुतिपदप्रोद्भासिनीषड्सा
यत्र प्रच्युतकेतिवृत्तघटना धीरोद्धतो यत्र राट् ।
यद्देवासुर यक्ष राक्षस चमू संघर्षणाद्यद्युत
तद्ब्रूयादधिकृत्पदं डिमवर प्रख्यातकं रूपकं ॥

4. *Veerarāghava Vyāyōgam* (वीरराघव व्यायोगम्)

This is a one act play describing the prowess of Srī Rāma and the defeat of the two powerful demons Khara and Vidūṣa who were causing great trouble to the sages of the Daṇḍaka forest आर्तेने खरदूषणादिकवधप्रस्तावनां नाटके. The story is based on the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa.* The characters that appear in the drama are, Khara, Vidūṣaṇa, Citraratha, Mātali, Mahēndra, Jaṭāyu, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Rāma. The ruling sentiment is the *Vīra.* The scene takes place in Janasthāna.

The poet introduces the character of Jaṭāyu in an effective manner. In the prelude we find a nice conversation going on between the stage manager and his wife. The stage manager pays a compliment to his wife by saying, आर्ये एवमेतत् ।

त्वया विवेकशालिन्या वयं धन्याभृशं प्रिये ।
यथा कमलिनीसंगान्मराळाभृशशोभिनः ॥

and again, enjoying the sweet music of the *Naṭi*, he says

जटायुरिव रामस्य सौहार्दरसबंधुरः ॥

(The sweet tone, coupled with the sentiment expressed, was like the unequalled friendship of Rāma and Jaṭāyu). Jaṭāyu immediately enters and says, कुमाररामलक्ष्मणाभ्यां लठंतमभिनवमावेदयितुमागतोऽस्मि । to inform Rāma that the two demons Khara and Vidūṣa are causing great havoc to the rituals of the sages and Rāma should put an end to this trouble at once. The description of the hermitage of Rāma is simple and beautiful.

पठंति निगमागमान् ऋषिवराः परं निर्भयाः
मुखंश्च कतिचिद्द्विजाः गलितविघ्नमातन्वते ॥
चरंति मुनिकन्यका विगतशंकमेतर्बहिः
नचेद्रघुवराश्रमः कथमिदं नरक्षोवने ॥

There is a slight innovation in the drama. In the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* we find that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa meet Jaṭāyu when they go to Pañcavaṭi. Khara becomes enraged at the insult done to Sūrpaṅakhī by Rāma and proposes to wage war with him. Here in the drama, Jatāyu is made to come to Rāma and instigate the war with Khara and Vidūṣaṇa to save the sages from the trouble.

The play ends with the defeat of Khara and Vidūṣaṇa, and the happy return of Rāma to the hermitage, causing great relief to all the sages in the Daṇḍaka forest.

5. *Lakṣmīswayamvara Samavākāra* (लक्ष्मीस्वयंवरसमवाकार).

6. *Vibudhadānava Samavākāra* (विबुधदानवसमवाकार).

In this, the well-known story of the marriage of Lakṣmi with Nārāyaṇa is dramatised. This is written in three acts

with *Vīra* as the principal sentiment and *Sṛngāra* being subsidiary to it. The play is also known by the other name *Vibudhadānavasamavākāra* because it relates to gods and demons. The drama begins with a benediction to Rāma as usual.

जयतु जनक कन्या धन्य वक्षोजकुंभ
द्वय मृगमदरेखा कल्पना शिल्पशौंडः ॥
जननयन चकोरी बालचंद्रावमश्री
रखिलरिपु नियंता कोऽपि चापसिकांडः ॥

The theme of the play is well suggested in the *Prastāvanā* itself. The actress tells the stage manager that her daughter Śṛngāralakṣmi is to be married. The *Sūtradhāra* suggests the name of one Śrīrangavallabha, one of the best actors of the tiems, as a suitable bridegroom (नन्वस्ति श्रीरंगवल्लभो नाम नटचक्रवर्ती). (We must remember that the scene takes place in Seringapatam.)

In the opinion of the *Sūtradhāra*, free choice is to be given to the girl in selecting her partner.

(यं कन्या भुवि भर्तारं कामयन्ते स्वयंवरे ।
तद्भर्तास्यात्सएवेति सर्वेषामपि संमतिः ॥)

The names Śṛngāralakṣmī and Śrīrangavallabha suggest the marriage of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa, the greatest actor.

The story depicted here in this play could be summed up in the words of the poet himself.

गत्वा स्वयंवर महोत्सव दर्शनाय
कृत्वा सुरासुर चमूमसहाक्रियार्हं ॥
हृत्वा प्रियामनुसृतिः प्रवणामनन्यां
छित्वा व्यथां हृदयजां शममेति पूर्णम् ॥

The play ends with the following simple but effective Bharatavākya :—

भूमिस्सदा भवतु संप्रति सस्यजाता
नाथा भवंतु निज धर्मरताः पृथिव्याः ॥
साहित्यसंपदभिवृद्धिरपात्तलोकाः
सर्वान् बुधान् सुखयतु क्षपितांतरायाः ॥

7. *Seetākalyāṇa Vidhi* (सीताकल्याण वीधी)

The poet begins this work with a homage to Vālmīki and his great work *Rāmāyaṇa.*

वंदे वाल्मीकभुवं वंदारुजनावनैकजन्मभुवम् ॥
यत्काव्यामृतलाभात्सत्कविबुध नाम सार्थता जाता ॥

This type of dramatic art is very rare indeed in Sanskrit. So far, no *Vīdhi* work worth the name has been found out, possessing all the special features of this particular variety. This needs a special mention since it satisfies all the rules of *Vīdhi.*

The *Naṭi* says that the *Vīdhies* are very rare like a chaste and a high-born woman.

Look at the conversation of the stage manager and *Naṭi.*

नटी—अपूर्वः खलु कुलपालिकायाः इव वीधी। संचारस्सरस्वत्याः। अतो व्याकुलाऽस्मि

सूत्रधारः—जानामि त्वमेकैव कुलपालिकैति। यद्वीधीमेव न जानामि।

नटी—(सलज्जम्) अलंपरिहासेन नप्रत्यभिजानातु भवती
पर्यायनामधेयस्यात्किंवा लांगलपद्धतेः ॥
कांचनस्यापि किं वा स्यात् वेंकयार्यकृतिश्चका ॥

This is a one-act play describing the marriage of Rāma and Sīta, the well known story of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Light *Sṛngāra* runs throughout the drama.

8. *Rukmiṇīmādhavanāmānka* (रुक्मिणीमाधवनामांकः)

This is also a one-act play dealing with the happy marriage of Rukmiṇī and Mādhava. The characters that appear in the drama are not portrayed as divine beings. Rukmiṇī, the daughter of the Vidarbha king, is in grief because the cruel and the powerful Śiśupāla wants to marry her. Neither the parents nor the girl like the alliance. Śiśupāla being very powerful decides to take away Rukmiṇī by force. In these circumstances Rukmiṇī writes a letter to Mādhava seeking his help. The following is the letter written by Rukmiṇī, carried and delivered to Mādhava by a Brahmin.

स्वस्ति समस्तजगत्प्रशस्तयशोवृंदस्य समग्रगुणगणप्रकटितानंदस्य निरवद्य शौर्य ? रमाधवस्य माधवनाम्नः यादवाधिपस्य चरणनतशिरा विज्ञापयति रुक्मिणीनाम विदर्भराज दुहिता ।

यावत्सुरर्षि वरवर्णित तावकीन
लावण्यपूज्यगुणलब्धहृदं त्वदीयम् ।
नायाति चेद्यहतकस्स्व?रुक्मिसाह्वा
दागत्य तावदवमामनुपेक्षणीयाम् ॥
मन्ये मृगेंद्र तरुणीमिव तावकीना
मन्योपहर्तुमसमर्थ इति क्षितौ मां ॥
दूये तथाऽपि दुरुदाहररुक्मिसाह्वा
दायाति चेद्य इति वादवशाज्जनानाम् ॥

The play ends with the happy union, the marriage of Rukmiṇī and Mādhava. The main sentiment in the play is not *Sṛngāra* but *Karuṇa*. There is a touch of *Sṛngāra* in the end. We find the grief of women, cries of dejection, etc. in the play, in plenty.

9. *Ūrvaśeesārvabhaumēhāmṛga* (ऊर्वशीसार्वभौमेहामृग)

The famous love story of Ūrvaśī and Purūravas is dramatised here in four acts. Ūrvaśī, Nārada, Mahēndra, Sikharaka and Kalānidhi are some of the characters. The heroine is portrayed as a divine being. Forcible adbuction and fights take place in the drama and the play has light *Sṛngāra* sentiment.

These are the eight dramatic works of Venkappaiah.

10. *Sudhājharī* (सुधाझरी)

This is a prose work in Sanskrit written by Venkāmātya, in imitation of *Kādambarī* in two tarangas. The fourth stanza in the beginning of the work runs thus :—

बाणेनसत्कविशिरोमणिनारचिप्रा-
कादंबरी मधुरसारधुरीण रीतिः ॥
एषासुधारसझरी विबुधावळीना
मानंददास्तु गुणदोषविदामुदारा ॥

The work deals with the story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In the palmyra manuscript, twenty leaves are missing and thus the work is found incomplete.

The following is the invocatory stanza of the work :—

श्री सीतामधुराधरामृतरसस्वीकार सारज्ञता
वासश्शासित पंक्तिकंधरमुखप्राणः प्रवीणाग्रणीः ॥
पायादायतनं श्रियः कणतया यत्सायकाग्रे स्थितः
पारावारपतिर्यदीय करुणापूरेण संपूजितः ॥

The work commences with a description of the milky ocean, the residence of the great Lord. (अस्ति किल समस्त सुमनस्तति नित्य साहित्यप्रदानव्रतचिरार्चितसुकृतराशिरातिषायतनमशेषाणां .... क्षीरसागरंनाम)। Further the poet says that God made this as his happy home. लावण्यझरीमुत्सि-कामिव भगवतीं भागीरथीं पदाग्रेण वहन् प्रवाहरूपेण निरुपाधिककरुणानिधिरधिवसति ।

The language employed here is charming with simple grace and the author has paid much attention in the arrangements of words.

The following passage is an example of fine prose where we find the *Śleṣā* and the *Parisankhyā* figures employed. Such pieces will really increase the beauty of prose.

यत्र चं नंदनवनद्रुमाइव सदावयोविलासभूषिताः ब्रह्माणइव चतुराननाः शिवाः इव शिवानुध्याननिरताः महेंद्रा इव गुरुनम्रताभागिनः पुरुषार्थाः इव विविधफलप्रदातारः प्रशमाइव सशरीराः भक्तिरसाइव सावयवाः सत्वगुणविवर्ताः वर्तंते हरेश्चिदानंद महिमाभागवंतो भागवताः ।

The language is chaste and ornate. The beautiful descriptions here and there attract the reader much.

11. *Kuśalava Campū* (कुशलव चम्पू)

This is a narrative in mixed prose and verse, dealing with the story of Kuśa and Lava. The book is divided into five chapters (*Ullāsās*). At the end of the book we find the following stanzas :—

यश्श्रीरामपुरीवरेश्वरकृपासंप्राप्त षड्दर्शिनी
साम्राज्यान्वित सांख्ययोगकलिता सर्वंकष प्राभवः ॥
चम्पूनामनि वेंकयप्रभुमणेरेतस्य काव्ये नवे
हंपार्याब्धि सुधाकरस्य भृशमुल्लासोऽभवत्पंचमः ॥
करुणाकलशांबोधि कल्लोलायित दृष्टये ।
ममस्य रघुवीराय ममस्यादघमूर्तये ॥

The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* upto the Yuddhakāṇḍa has been briefly narrated in the first chapter of this book. In describing the capital Sākēta we find this charming passage :—

कैलासकोटीव वामदेवप्रचारवती परमेशमूर्तिरिव सदार्यानुकूला कुलाचल दरीव मदोद्धटी सिंहनादमुखरिता नभोविधिरिव नव नव ताराराजदलंकृतिः वासव समेव वज्रश्रीमनोहरा.........................वडबाभिधेयैरपि सुगुणशीतलैः द्विजराजैरप्यपक्षपातैरनुग्रहबहुळैरप्याग्रहशून्यैः असत्यदूरैरपि असती दूरैरत्यंतविशारदैरप्यविशारदैः अयत्नैरपियज्ञकर्द्धिः अश्रुताधिकरणैरपिश्रुताधिकरणैः अग्रजन्मभिः।...................संपदापदमाज्ज्यीणां आश्रयः श्रियां भवनमानंदानां निषद्याविद्यानां आवालः सुकृततरुणां अक्षयशेवधिः अर्थानां लास्यपटे लावण्यानां स्वगेहं सरस्वती विलासस्य वशीकरणमिव शरणागतभरतसाम्राज्यधौरंधर्य धुर्यता निरंतराय संपदनुकंपामांसळं कोसलविषयमात्मनालंकुर्वाणा सर्व सर्वंसहाभरण मंजुळा रंजयति राजधानी।

A student of Sanskrit will really appreciate the way in which, *Abhanga Śleṣa*, *Sabdālankāra* and *Arthāntaranyāsa* figures are employed in the above passage.

The second chapter of the book deals with the story of Rāma and Sītā, after their return from the forest.

In the third chapter Sītā expresses the desire to pay a visit to the forest again. The story here is based on the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Kausalyā, the queen-mother and others have gone to the hermitage of Ṛsyaśṛnga, the husband of Śāntā to witness a sacrifice performed by him.

अथ कदाचिदपरिमिततपोविभवतुंगस्य ऋष्यश्रृंगस्य जामातुः शांतानेतुः तंत्यमानसप्ततंतु विलोकनाय कृततदाश्रमगमनेषु कौसल्याऽदि गुरुजनेषु तपोवना-लोकनकृतसौहृदेन दौहृदेन भरिता सुचरिता जनकराजसुता रहसि सहसितानन-तृणासनाथं नाथमिदमवादीत्।

वारं वारं कृतमुनिवधू वारसंभावनानि
स्वैरं स्वैरं प्रमदवनमृगत्यक्त वैरव्रतानि।
स्मारं स्मारं मुनिजनवनान्यातनोति प्रकामं
चेतः प्रातः कमलमिव सुमेनेतरामोदभावं॥

That the queen-mother had left the capital for the hermitage of Ṛsyaśṛnga, to attend a sacrifice, when Sītā was sent to

the forest by Rāma is a device that is adopted by Bhavabhūtī in his *Uttararāma Carita*. The situation described in this campū is based on the method employed by the author of the *Uttararāma Carita*.

The following stanzas describe the pitiable position and the helplessness of Sītā, when she was left in the forest all alone.

दिशि दिशि विकिरंती दीनदीनान् विलोका
ननिल चलित चंचन्नीरजश्रीगुणैकान् ॥
असिचदविरलोत्थैरश्रुभिर्गर्भभारं
बहुल हृदयतापस्पर्शभीतेव सीता ॥
क्वाऽसौऽधस्ताद्दृङ्मणिकनकनिर्माणमधुरः
क्वाऽरण्यानीयं कठिणतर पाषाण विषया ॥
विमोह स्वप्नोवा विधि विलसितंवेतिबहुधा
विलापैर्विक्षेपं व्यतनुतकरुणामपिहृदि ॥

The horse sacrifice performed by Rāma forms the subject-matter of the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter deals with the fight of Lava and Kuśa with the warriors guarding the Aśvamēdha horse. The work ends with the recognition of Lava and Kuśa by Rāma as his sons and his union with Sītā again.

12. *Alankāramaṇidarpaṇa* (अलंकारमणिदर्पणम्)

This is a work on poetics.[4] The work is divided into six chapters dealing with the following topics:—

(1) *Kāvyasvarūpanirūpaṇa* (काव्यस्वरूपनिरूपण)
(2) *Dhvanisvarūpanirūpaṇa* (ध्वनिस्वरूपनिरूपण)
(3) *Asamlakṣya kramavyangyanirūpaṇa* (असंलक्ष्यक्रमव्यंग्यनिरूपण)
(4) *Guṇeebhūtavyangyanirūpaṇa* (गुणीभूतव्यंग्यनिरूपण)
(5) *Sabdālankāranirūpaṇa* (शब्दालंकारनिरूपण)
(6) *Arthālankāranirūpaṇa* (अर्थालंकारनिरूपण)

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[4] This is referred to by Dr. S. K. De in his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I.

The author first discusses the various definitions of poetry and gives his own in the words कविकल्पितानुपूर्वी विशिष्टसरसशब्दार्थोभयत्वं काव्यत्वमिति काव्यसामान्यलक्षणम् and opines that the *Rasa* is the all-important factor in a *Kāyva.* He bases his argument on the stanza :—

रसैः श्रृंगार कारुण्य हास्य रौद्र भयानकैः ॥
वीरादिभिश्च संयुक्तं काव्यमेतदगायत ॥

Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, IV. 9.

He further says that it is neither the story nor the figures of speech that is important, but it is the *Rasa* that increases the beauty of a poem.

He agrees with the older writers in speaking of the necessary equipment of a poet. The poet's requirements, according to him, are threefold. निपुणता, अभ्यास and शक्ति.

He makes the meaning of these terms clear in the following manner :—

निपुणता लोकवृत्तांतकणादपाणिन्यादिशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणकाव्यनाटकालंकार भरत गजतुरगरत्नकलाशास्त्रादीनां कविसमयसिद्ध द्रव्य गुणक्रियादीनां च भूयः श्रम जनितः संस्कार विशेषः ।

अभ्यासश्च काव्याभिज्ञगुरूपदिष्ट संप्रदायग्रहण विशेषः ।

शक्तिर्निपुणता लोकशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवेक्षणात् ।

Venkappaiah in defining *Śakti*, simply quotes from the famous *Kāvyaprakāśa.* He gives his own definition for अभ्यास, making the meaning of the term clearer than that of the author of *Kāvyaprakāśa* who says merely काव्यज्ञ शिक्षयाभ्यासः. In this connection, we must, however, remember that Rājaśēkhara, a well-known writer of the twelfth century, gives a different meaning altogether to the word *Śakti.* According to him *Śakti* is the poetic power. But the author of the present work is merely satisfied in saying that the poetic power could be obtained from the study of the world, certain sciences and arts.

In discussing the definitions of poetry Venkāmātya mentions the names of certain writers such as Cakravarti,

Dēśikācarya and *Dīkshita*, the author of *Mahābhārata Tātparya Sangraha.* He also refers to two of his works: *Hanumatśataka* and *Sūryaśataka* which are not yet traced.

The work under review is an exhaustive one dealing with all the important topics on poetics.

13. *Jagannāthavijayakāvyam* (जगन्नाथविजयकाव्यम्)

This is a work on grammar, giving a number of examples for the usages according to the aphorisms of Pāṇini, the great grammarian. The work is written in the form of a *Kāvya* dealing with the story of Kṛṣṇa. The *Kāvya* begins with the following invocation to Rāma :—

जयतु जलधर श्री जन्मभूमीमनीषा
....बहुळ तनूभा भासमानो समानः ॥
जनकदुहितृ वक्षोजात शैलावमर्दे
परिणत गजराजः प्रौंडसक्तिराजः ॥

The following is the colophon we find at the end of each *Ullāsa* :

इति श्रीमद्रामपुराधीश श्रीरघुनाथचरणद्वंद्वाराधनसंपत्सारस्वतवैभवविश्वजननीविद्य श्री वेंकामात्य विरचिते श्रीमति जगन्नाथविजयमहाकाव्ये........

The work is divided into twenty-seven chapters written in various metres. The object of the poem is to give a number of correct forms of verbs in accordance with the Pāṇinian rules rather than describe the story of Kṛṣṇa.

The following is the analysis of the poem :—

1.	Chapter deals with	*Sib*	forms having	27	stanzas.
2.	,,	*Luk*	,,	56	,,
3.	,,	—	,,	36	,,
4.	,,	*Śyan*	,,	80	,,
5.	,,	*Śnu*	,,	25	,,
6.	,,	—	,,	75	,,
7.	,,	—	,,	25	,,
8.	,,	—	,,	20	,,
9.	,,	*Śnā Vikaraṇa*	,,	36	,,
10.	,,	*Ning*	,,	100	,,
11.	,,	*San*	,,	67	,,

12.	Chapter deals with	*Yang*	forms having	58	stanzas.
13.	,,	*Yang*	,,	66	,,
14.	,,	*Chri*	,,	50	,,
15.	,,	*Karma* and *Kartru*	,,	141	,,
16.	,,	*Kṛt*	,,	103	,,
17.	,,	—	,,	115	,,
18.	,,	*Sing* and *Vṛddhi*	,,	101	,,
19.	,,	*Satva*	,,	108	,,
20.	,,	*Lat*	,,	53	,,
21.	Chapter deals with	*Lit*	forms having	103	stanzas.
22.	,,	*Lṛt*	,,	32	,,
23.	,,	*Lōt*	,,	27	,,
24.	,,	*Lri*	,,	30	,,
25.	,,	*Ling*	,,	24	,,
26.	,,	*Lung*	,,	65	,,
27.	,,	*Lṛng*	,,	31	,,

There are 1,654 verses in all the twenty-seven chapters. The perusal of the analysis of the book will tell us that it gives us the significations of Tenses and Moods in Sanskrit, and terminations of important roots belonging to various conjugations. In it, we find all the important forms of verbs that are generally used in Sanskrit language. The work is a good guide to usages in Sanskrit.

14–16. *Karṇātarāmāyaṇa* (कर्णाटरामायण), *Indirābhyudaya* (इन्दिराभ्युदय), or *Rāmābhyudaya* (रामाभ्युदय), and *Hanumadvilāsa* (हनुमद्विलास), are the three Kannaḍa works written by Venkāmātya.[5]

17–18. *Hanumatśataka* (हनुमत्शतक) and *Sūryaśataka* (सूर्यशतक) are two *Śatakas* in Sanskrit and they are not traced as yet. He refers to them in his work *Alankāramaṇi-darpaṇa.*

Venkappaiah was a man of varied parts. It is no easy distinction for a man to be at once, a successful minister,

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[5] Mahamahopadhyāya Rao Bahadur late Mr. R. Narasimhachar has referred to these in his *Karṇāṭaka Kavicarite*, Vol. III, p. 129.

a warrior of considerable enterprise, a man of great culture and an erudite scholar. Venkappaiah had this unique combination of qualities, and if for no other reason at least for this, his works deserve our respectful attention. Indeed his works may not represent the best in our literature, but they have the impress of quality and of dignified ease, and they are pleasant reading. It would be gratifying to see some of his works in print.

A NOTE ON THE BĀṆA AND PALLAVA RELATIONSHIPS IN C.A.D. 1200-1280

By K. S. Vaidyanathan, B.A.

From the Hoysala inscriptions found at Harihar and Sravaṇa Beḷagoḷa it is found that the Hoysala king Nārasimha II is called the uprooter of the Makara or Mahara kingdom or sovereignty.[1] The first of these records being the earliest of the two, dated in A.D. 1224 shows that Nārasimha II must have uprooted the Mahara kingdom in or before that year. Accordingly another inscription[2] dated in the previous year A.D. 1223 states clearly that he forcibly captured among others the Magara. A later inscription dated in A.D. 1232, from the Visṇu temple at Tiruvendipuram mentions also the uprooting of the Mahara. Therefore there must have been two endeavours; the first capture and uprooting of the Mahara must have occurred in or before A.D. 1223,[3] and the second attempt took place in about A.D. 1231–32. The Tiruvendipuram inscription[4] of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III, which is dated in his sixteenth year (A.D. 1232), informs that when Nārasimha II heard that the Cōḷa king had been captured and imprisoned by the Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga at Sendamaṅgalam and that he had destroyed his kingdom, he exclaimed that his trumpet shall not be blown unless and until he maintained the reputation of having been the establisher of the Cōḷa country,[5]

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[1] *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 507.

[2] *Ep. Car.* Vol. V, Pt. I, Cn. 203; Intro. p. 22 f.; Cn. 197, K. 434.

[3] A record of Nārasimha II in the year A.D. 1222, reports that the king was marching against Srirangam in the South, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI, Cn. 56.

[4] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 160 f.

[5] He is already described as the establisher of the Cōḷa king in the other earlier records of the Hoysalas, which are dated in A.D. 1223–24 and as such it is clear that in his early years, about ten years prior to the Sendamaṅgalam incident, Rājarāja III had been helped

and started from his capital Dōrasamudra on his campaign. Going by way of the Gujalhaṭṭi pass[6] he uprooted the Mahara country, seized him, his women and treasures, and halted at Pāchchūr. From there he sent his Daṇḍanāyakas, with the order to capture Kōpperuñjiṅga and liberate the Cōḷa emperor. Thus it is seen that this record relates the events that took place in the period A.D. 1231–32 and does not refer to any event prior to A.D. 1230. Hence from the above references it is clear that the Mahara kingdom was for a second time uprooted and the statement of the Tiruvendipuram record implies also that the Mahara king must have been an obstacle on his way to Sendamaṅgalam in the Cōḷa country, and that his power was such that the personal valour of Nārasimha II was needed. The Mahara chief or king was evidently a counted ally[7] of Kōpperuñjiṅga and he had to be overcome by the Hoysala king.

The Mahara, Magara or Makara of these inscriptions seem to be identical with Magadadēśam, Magadai of the Tamil nscriptions of the time in which figures a Bāṇa chief Magadaipperumāḷ (*i.e.* chief of Magadai). In fact one of the Tamil inscriptions makes the identity certain.[8] We find that a certain Poṉparappiṉaṉ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ is mentioned in a record[9] of Peruñjiṅga dated in his thirtieth year, as a feudatory officer. This chief is apparently identical with Magadēśan Vāṇakulōttamaṉ, Vīramāgaḍaṉ Rājarājadēvaṉ Poṉparappiṉāṉ[10] Magadaipperumāḷ[11] in the inscriptions from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai

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by Nārasimha II. The specific statement of the Tiruvendipuram record that he wanted to maintain his reputation as the establisher of the Cōḷa kingdom, is clearly indicative of the earlier achievement of his. On his first attempt in establishing the Cōḷa country, he had also to fight with the Mahara king.

6 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 160 f.

7 The inscriptions of Poṉparappiṉaṉ Magadaipperumaḷ are all in the South Arcot District and Pudukkotta State, and this also in a way shows that the Bāṇa was allied to Pallava.

8 *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII, No. 765.

9 No. 159 of 1906.

10 Nos. 523, 532, 537 of 1902.

11 Nos. 507, 543, 544 of 1902 ; Nos. 381, 382, 383, 385 of 1906.

and Kuḍumiyāmalai. The Mahara kingdom must have been in the Coimbatore District as has been suggested by Dr. Hultzsch.[12] A twenty-seventh year record[13] of Kulōttuṅga III contains a compact made among a number of chiefs to stand by the orders of Chēḍiyarāyaṉ and to refrain from communication with Magadaināḍālvāṉ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ and Kulōttungaśōḷa Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ, either by sending men or letters. This implies that the two last named chiefs, who were Bāṇas and who must have been the subordinates of the Cōḷas,[14] had become royal enemies, and even communication with them in any way was prohibited, as it was against the interests of the realm. This record gives us an indirect clue as to when the Bāṇas had become the enemies of the Cōḷa king. It was just about A.D. 1205, the date of the record, that the Bāṇas seem to have become inimical. An undated verse-inscription[15] claims for Viḍugāḍaḻagiya-perumāḷ the conquest of Kāḍava, Magadha and Gaṅga. The probable date of the record must be later than A.D. 1200. We are unaware which Bāṇa chieftain was subdued by him. The Bāṇas who had become refractory were subdued by the Cōḷa with the help of the Adigamāṉ. But the Bāṇas did not remain docile and the Cōḷa relations with them were at a high tinge of enmity which necessitate the prohibition of communication with them either by men or letters. These perhaps explain the suggestion that the Kāḍava Peruñjiṅga might have had the Bāṇas as his ally, when the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III was imprisoned at Sendamaṅgalam in about A.D. 1231. The Bāṇas had resented their subordination to the Cōḷas in about A.D. 1205, and sometime later, in A.D. 1223, they were defeated by the Hoysalas. The first war against the Bāṇas by Nārasimha must have occurred as determined above, in about A.D. 1223 and must have been undertaken by him in pursuance of a policy

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12 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 161.

13 No. 516 of 1902.

14 The very name Kulōttungaśoḻa Vāṇakovaraiyaṉ is indicative of the subordination of the Bāṇas to the Cōḷas.

15 No. 552 of 1906.

of helping the Cōḷa who was his relative and who was dependent upon his assistance, as was the case in the second war against the Mahara kingdom in A.D. 1231–32, when Rājarāja III was imprisoned by Peruñjiṅga. Thus it is seen that the Bāṇas had become a powerful foe of the Cōḷas after the twenty-seventh year of Kulōttunga III, till which year they were subordinate to him. And when Nārasimha II had tried to establish the Cōḷa king, *i.e.* Rājarāja III, in or before A.D. 1223, the power of the mighty Bāṇa chief had to be subdued.[16] This suggestion gains support in the fact that the records left by the Bāṇa chief Magadaipperumāḷ proclaim that he had conquered the Cōḷa and made him pay a tribute of elephants :

Āḷandarukaḍal vaiyaṭṭaraśu śeluṭṭiya seṅgōlaraśellām
Vēḻantaru koḍai Vāṇaḍivākaraṉ viḍimuraiśeyvadu
meykaṇḍīr
Īḻanḍirayiḍu Māṇikkappaḍiyiḍumiṉ Teṉṉar iḍīrāgir
Śōḻaṉ tiraiyiḍum yāṉaikkuṅgaḷaiiḍumeṉṟirum idu Śoṉṉōmē.[17]

Beyond all the above noted facts that make us believe that Bāṇa and Pallava were allied, the most important feature that

[16] The first war of Māravarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya against the Cōḷas took place in A.D. 1216–17, when Kulōttunga III was alive and Rājarāja III received back the crown. It was on a Bāṇa that the conquered territory of the Cōḷas was given in the first instance. The Cōḷa king Rājarāja III, did not remain submissive, refused to obey the commands of the Pāṇḍya king, denied him tribute and sent a large army with a vanguard against the Pāṇḍya. The Hoysalas were on his side, and though the inscriptions of that Pāṇḍya king say that he waged a deadly war with the Cōḷa and caused great damage, yet the fact that the Hoysalas came to establish a permanent outpost in the South at Kaṇṇaṉūr, which was on the borders of the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries, make it explicit that the combined forces of the Hoysala and the Cōḷa kings must have been successful. See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII, p. 44.

[17] Nos. 507 and 543 of 1902. From 507 of 1902, it is clear that Poṉparappiṉāṉ Magadaiperumāḷ was born on the asterism of Uttirāḍam, that he was called Vāṇadivākaraṉ and that he had conquered Ceylon, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Vaḍugu countries.

strengthened their alliance was the fact that their territories lay contiguous to each other.[18]

Another point to note in the twenty-seventh year record of Kulōttunga III is that after having declared the first part of the compact made among themselves, it is added that if the two Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉs and Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ should perform any act, the other chiefs, *i.e.* the persons who were on the side of Çēdiyarāyaṉ, would march with army and horses against them and declare that if they did not act in the said manner they shall bear the sandals of Vāṇakōvarāiyaṉ. The importance of this part of the compact lies in the fact that the name of Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṉ, who is better known as Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ, is associated with the two Bāṇas and this is a clear indication that the Bāṇa and the Pallava chiefs who were till then the Cōḷa subordinates, had rebelled, either independently or conjointly and become the declared enemies of the Cōḷa overlord. The foremost among the chiefs who were subordinate to the Cōḷas rebelled in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and becoming the open enemies of their erstwhile overlord, attempted to become independent. The position of the Cōḷa king of the day, *i.e.* Rājarāja III had thus become weak and being personally unable to stand the situation, he had to seek the help of the powerful neighbour, the Hoysalas, who were related to the Cōḷas by marriage ties. The effective interference of the Hoysala king gave him the honour of establishing the Cōḷa.

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[18] River Peṇṇār flowed in the Pallava country (Toṇḍaināḍu) and Bāṇa country (Magadaimaṇḍalam), Nos. 105 of 1906; 66, 68, 71, 82 and 97 of 1906, 526 of 1902. In the Bāṇa country the division Mudiyanūr-paṟṟu and the place Maruvūr were situated in the southern bank of the river Peṇṇār. Nos. 66, 71 of 1906. And Śembai *alias* Virarājendrapuram and Vālaiyur were situated on the northern bank of the said river. Nos. 68, 82, 97, 98 of 1906. Magada country was also called Vāṇagōpappāḍi. Araśūr was situated in South Peṇṇār which flowed in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. No. 105 of 1905.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

New Series—No. IV

The Dove in the Pre-historic Cult of the Indus Valley

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

In 1922, the well-known Bengali archæologist and historian the late Prof. R. D. Banerji discovered the pre-historic site at Mohenjo-daro in Sind. After his death, Mr. N. G. Mazumdar, another Bengali archæologist and explorer discovered twenty more pre-historic sites in that province. Among these sites is that of Chanhu-daro in the Nawab Shah district of Sind, which he discovered in 1930. He carried on some excavations there which were, however, limited in their scope. Even these limited excavations yielded antique objects which disclosed close affinity with those unearthed at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa (in the Montgomery district of the Punjab). The Government of India directed that a thorough and exhaustive exploration of the site at Chanhu-daro should be undertaken. With this object in view, it granted a license to the expedition which was sent out to India in 1935 by the Academy of India and Iranian Studies of Boston (U.S.A.) for carrying an exploration work in the Indus Valley. During the cold weather of 1935–36, the staff of this expedition under the direction of Dr. Ernest Mackay explored and excavated one of the mounds at Chanhu-daro. It is the second mound which is the biggest. These excavations brought to light grey and polychrome pottery, copper and bronze implements and tools similar to those found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Various other relics were discovered. Among these are seals bearing representations of bulls with mangers in front of them. In this connection it may be stated here that Prof. Henry Frankfort recently discovered at Tell Aqral (in Mesopotamia) the fragment of a green steatite vase with a humped bull and a manger impressed on it. Prof. Frankfort says that it is the first discovery of

the representation of an Indian cult-object in an entirely Mesopotamian setting and is of the greatest importance inasmuch as it indicates something more than intermittent communication or trade between Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley. Another interesting relic unearthed at Chanhu-daro is a seal impression depicting two women holding between them a staff from the top of which hung the branches of pipal trees. Dr. Mackay says that this object has possibly some cult significance.

But the most interesting relics which have been discovered at Chanhu-daro and with which I am concerned for the purposes of this paper are the figurines of the Mother-Goddess often associated with little model doves with outstretched died wings. It is interesting to note that the dove was intimately associated with the worship of the Mother-Goddess in Crete, Sardimia and Mesopotamia.[1]

Now from what has been stated above, the two under-mentioned questions arise:—

(i) Who is this Mother-Goddess and what were her functions?

(ii) If the birds which have been found associated with the Mother-Goddess have been rightly identified as doves, the question arises why this is so, that is to say, why the doves are connected with the cult of the Mother-Goddess?

In reply to the first question, I shall say that the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro and the surrounding countryside professed the most catholic faith of the ancient world. They worshipped the Great Mother or the Mother-Goddess. Though the figurines representing her, which have been hitherto discovered, appear to have been crudely moulded, they somewhat resemble the Snake-Goddess of ancient Crete. Like all agriculturists of primitive times, the people of Mohenjo-daro,

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[1] *Vide* the article entitled, "American excavations at Chanhu-daro (Sind), in *Science and Culture* (Cal.) for January 1934, pp. 347–49.

Harappa, Chanhu-daro and other places must have paid their devoirs to and adored the spirit of vegetation and fertility who was embodied and incarnated in trees and plants. The tree which was greatly venerated by these ancient Indians was the graceful Pipal or *Asvattha* (*Ficus religiosa*). A clay seal discovered at Mohenjo-daro depicts the sacrifice of a goat to this tree which was regarded as the Tree of Life. From this ancient rite has survived the custom, which prevails in the villages of Sind even at the present day, of presenting offerings to this tree. I am also of opinion that the prevalence of this custom in the Indus Valley is also evidenced by another seal which has been discovered at Chanhu-daro and which depicts two women holding between them a staff from the top of which hung the branches of pipal trees. Another seal which proves the veneration paid by these ancient Indians to trees as incarnations of the spirit of vegetation and fertility, depicts the marriage of two trees, which rite is practised in India even at the present day.

It will not be out of place to mention here that though the excavations carried on at Mohenjo-daro and its adjacent pre-historic sites have thrown very little light on our knowledge of the agriculture of the Indus peoples, this much is certain that wheat and barley were cultivated by them, as the remains of both these grains have been unearthed from the ruins of those localities. Those people not only fed upon the above-mentioned two cereals and dates, but also upon leaf, mutton, pork and poultry.

Now I shall take up for discussion the second question about the association of doves with the Mother-Goddess. From what has been stated above, it would appear that the Mother-Goddess was the incarnation of the spirit of vegetation and fertility and as such, must have presided over agriculture and also over wealth and prosperity which resulted therefrom. In this capacity, she appears to have been the ante-type of the Hindu goddess Lakṣmī who is the wife of Viṣṇu (or Nārāyaṇa) the Preserver. She is the deity who presides over

agriculture, wealth and prosperity, both of which latter are produced by successful agricultural pursuits and good crops.

The Barn Owl (*Strix flammea*, Linn) is called in Bengali Lakṣmi Pença, as it is sacred to Lakṣmi, the Hindu goddess of agriculture, wealth and prosperity. In the Hindu pictures of this goddess, the portrait of this deity is always depicted with this sacred owl, along with conch-shells and sheaves of rice plants, all of which are her symbols. As the Lakṣmī Pença or Barn Owl is the companion of the goddess of wealth and prosperity, the Hindus of Bengal consider it a good omen if one of these birds builds its nest in a house, because the people believe that its advent will bring wealth to the dwellers thereof and otherwise confer good luck and prosperity on them.

Now I shall return to the main question as to why the dove is associated with the Mother-Goddess. I am inclined to opine that when the crops of wheat and barley ripened flocks of birds used to come to the fields to forage upon the grains thereof. The primitive people of the Indus Valley thought that these birds had some sort of mysterious connection with the Mother-Goddess who incarnated in herself the spirit of vegetation and fertility and who by reason of her miraculous powers, caused their crops to germinate, grow up to maturity and produce the grains. In course of time, they came to look upon the doves as symbols of that deity and as bringers of wealth and prosperity. They, therefore, began to associate these birds with the figurines of that goddess, just in the same way as the Hindus of Bengal at the present day, always associate the Barn Owl with their goddess Lakṣmī who, as I have already shown above is the proto-type of the Mother-Goddess of the pre-historic cult of the Indus Valley.

I shall conclude this paper by giving below the results of the foregoing discussion :—

1. The pre-historic dwellers of the Indus Valley were agriculturists and partially lived upon a diet of grains and dates.

2. They, therefore, worshipped the Mother-Goddess who was their presiding deity of agriculture.

3. They looked upon doves as symbols of that deity and as bringer of wealth and prosperity.

4. They, therefore, always associated little models of doves with the figurines of their Mother-Goddess.

5. This was, most likely, done by them by way of presenting votive offerings to her deityship.

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